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# BACKGROUND INFORMATION

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# COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
# UNITED STATES SENATE

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## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

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# PREFACE BY SENATOR CHARLES H. PERCY, CHAIRMAN, AND SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL, RANKING MINORITY MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Committee on Foreign Relations marks its 165th anniversary on December 10, 1981. While the committee looks different to the world now and the world certainly looks different to the committee, members find themselves seeking ways to contribute to the solutions to many of the same problems that occupied them in the early years: war and peace, relations with foreign governments, treaties, claims, nominations, access to information and relations with the executive branch. In addition, profound new concerns with the proliferation of nuclear weapons and potential nuclear capabilities in unstable regions have given the committee new—and terribly urgent—concerns. Undreamed of in the early years, the issue now involves a nightmare of perils. Other questions about U.S. policy on trade, international energy and investment, international organizations, security agreements, foreign assistance, and the global environment have also added to the range of responsibilities of the committee.

At times during its history, the Committee on Foreign Relations has been described as a Department of Foreign Relations equivalent to the State Department. The committee has twice met in a body with the President at the White House. The first time was in 1919, with President Woodrow Wilson, about the Versailles Treaty. The second time was in 1975, with President Gerald Ford, concerning evacuation plans for South Vietnam. President-elect Jimmy Carter also met with the committee in the Senate and at the Smithsonian Museum for general policy consultation sessions, before he assumed office.

Beginning with the international crisis of 1940, the Congress tended to rely more and more on the executive branch for the development and management of the American response to foreign crises. Gradually, however, the resulting executive branch supremacy in the shaping of foreign policy came under scrutiny by the committee.

Particularly since the disclosure of the misleading information which led to the nearly unanimous Tonkin Gulf resolution, and the disillusionment surrounding Watergate, the Congress has claimed far greater authority in foreign policymaking than ever before. Leading the way, the committee proposed a number of actions:

—a definition of what constitutes a "national commitment" was agreed on by the Senate in order to help preclude unilateral commitments made by the executive;

—the foreign affairs agencies—the State Department, Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, U.S. International Communication Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and

Board for International Broadcasting—have been placed under greater congressional control by requiring an annual authorization of their funds;

—a proposal requiring the reporting of executive agreements to Congress, became law in 1972;

—the War Powers Act was overwhelmingly enacted after its veto by President Richard Nixon; and

—under the Arms Export Control Act—amended by Congress 10 times since 1968—approval is required for major military-related equipment sales from the United States to other countries.

The ebb and flow of executive and legislative branch authority has been a fact of life since the founding of the Congress. Constitutional scholars in fact are fond of calling the Constitution "an invitation to struggle" on foreign policy decisionmaking powers.

Without question, the Congress has a significant role to play in the formation and oversight of foreign policymaking. Equally clear, the Congress simply does not have the capability, the expertise, or the authority as an institution for dealing with the many daily decisions which must be made in responding to international developments. Therefore the most successful administrations have sought a middle ground in which Congress participates early and actively in the decisionmaking of the departments and agencies of the executive branch at the stage when policy options are discussed and judged.

There are as many examples of successful executive-legislative cooperation over the past several decades as there are of times when there was considerable tension and unnecessary confrontation. Agreement on the NATO Treaty, for example, was gained after thorough consultation with committee members by the administration. The committee held long executive sessions in February and March 1949 before the treaty was approved by President Harry Truman in April. Senators met with the Secretary of State to discuss tentative drafts and to work on the substance and style of what the treaty would mean and say.

Also, in the Kennedy years, the signing and ratification of the nuclear test ban symbolized the sizable potential in executive-legislative cooperation. The Committee on Foreign Relations was consulted on the draft articles as they were revised during the negotiating process and was represented at the Moscow signing ceremony by several of its members.

The Constitution granted the Senate treaty advice and consent powers, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was assigned jurisdiction over treaties. Yet, in our history, more than 100 treaties have either been flatly rejected or failed to enter into force because the reservations and amendments made by Senators were unacceptable to the President or others, or were withdrawn because of the strong opposition they engendered. Continuing dialogue and consultation between an administration and the Committee on Foreign Relations therefore are essential. Yet on other matters as well, it is evident that the branches must work together in order to increase the efficiency of our foreign policymaking, increase the consistency of our policies, and in general promote our national interest.

Similarly, there is a continuing need for both parties in Congress to debate and work together to forge a consensus on foreign policy matters. That debate must seek the national interest ahead of partisan advantage. A bipartisan approach developed in earnest immediately after World War II with the mutual cooperation of Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Senator Tom Connally, and President Harry Truman. Today there is a renewed determination to reduce partisan differences so that a cohesive national policy can be developed, and so that it can endure despite changes in control of the Congress and the Presidency. And because a bipartisan spirit in the Congress allows for building of public support for our foreign policies, it is fundamental both for the successful functioning of the institutions of the Federal Government and for the achievement of our larger national foreign policy goals.

Bipartisanship, therefore, remains our operating philosophy.

* * * * * * *

This preface would not be complete without mentioning with respect the former chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Frank Church, and the former ranking minority member, Jacob Javits. Although during their tenure they represented different sides of the aisle, they worked in a spirit of comity to forge a consensus in the committee on major issues. Frank Church served on the committee from 1959 to 1981, and Jacob Javits from 1969 to 1981, times when the need for their special skills were acutely evident. In a special demonstration of admiration and respect, the committee unanimously "elected" Senator Javits chairman of the committee for 1 day before his term expired. We are certain that all members of the committee join us in expressing deep appreciation to Senators Church and Javits for their outstanding service.

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# THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, U.S. SENATE

## ORIGINS OF THE COMMITTEE

The powers of Congress in the foreign relations area are derived from the Constitution of the United States, especially from the articles cited below:

### THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—(EXCERPTS)

### ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

* * * * * * *

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power * * *

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations * * *

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water,

* * * * * * *

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION 9. * * *

* * * * * * *

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; * * *

### ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. * * *

SECTION 2. * * *

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, * * *.

* * * * * * *

The Congress from its earliest days has appointed committees as its creatures for expediting business. At first these were *ad hoc* committees empowered to examine particular items.

According to one source [1] there were "over 250 separate committees dealing with foreign affairs between 1789 and 1816." Similarly the titles of these ad hoc committees varied and not until 1812 did the term "foreign relations" appear in the legislative journals, although in 1815 the term "Foreign Affairs" was used again for a year.

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[1] Gould, James W., "The Origins of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," Western Political Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 3, September 1959.

On December 10, 1816, the Senate agreed to a resolution offered by Senator James Barbour, of Virginia, an Anti-Democrat, which provided for the appointment of the first standing committees of the Senate. The resolution read as follows:

> *Resolved*, That it shall be one of the rules of the Senate that the following standing committees be appointed at each session: a Committee on Foreign Relations, a Committee on Finance, a Committee on Commerce and Manufacturers, a Committee on Military Affairs, a Committee on the Militia, a Committee on Naval Affairs, a Committee on Public Lands, a Committee on Claims, a Committee on the Judiciary, a Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, a Committee on Pensions.

Senator Barbour became the first chairman of the new 5-member standing committee 3 days later.

Since the committee was named first in the list in 1816, it has sometime been referred to as the "ranking" Senate committee. The Senate does not, however, rank committees. The only reflection of the relative importance attached by the Senate in the recent past to its various committees was contained in a rule of the Standing Rules of the Senate which provided that "no Senator may serve at any time on more than one of the following committees: Appropriations, Armed Services, Finance, or Foreign Relations." However, that provision was deleted from the Rules in 1977.

## MEMBERSHIP

### *Size*

The size of the committee has varied considerably over the years. From 5 members in 1816 it grew, with occasional cutbacks, to 23 in 1946 when the Legislative Reorganization Act set it at 13. Since then it has been raised to 15 in 1953, to 17 in 1959, and to 19 in 1965. These increases, which were made in most other major standing committees at the same time, reflect partly the growing workload of the committee and partly readjustments to the political complexion of the Senate—that is to say the numerical ratio of members of the majority party to those of the minority. Anticipating the eventual enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 which established the size of the committee at 15 members, the committee was reduced to that number on January 14, 1969. By Senate Resolution 15, agreed to January 28, 1971, it was temporarily increased to 16 for the 92d Congress, by Senate Resolution 10, of January 4, 1973, to 17 for the duration of the 93d Congress, and continued at that number by S. Res. 17 of January 17, 1975, but reduced again to 16 by S. Res. 263, September 19, 1975. It remained at 16 until January 23, 1979, when it was reduced to 15 by Senate Resolution 21, but increased again to 17 by Senate Resolution 13 on January 5, 1981.

### *Election*

The Senate rules provide that the membership on the 15 standing committees shall be appointed, unless otherwise ordered, by ballot at the commencement of each Congress.

The exact rule follows:

## RULE XXIV

### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. In the appointment of the standing committees, or to fill vacancies thereon, the Senate, unless otherwise ordered, shall by resolution appoint the chairman of each such committee and the other members thereof. On demand of any Senator, a separate vote shall be had on the appointment of the chairman of any such committee and on the appointment of the other members thereof. Each such resolution shall be subject to amendment and to division of the question.

[Rule XXIV of the Standing Rules of the Senate.]

However, by unanimous consent the usual practice has been for the two major parties to submit slates of committee assignments for their party members in the form of Senate resolutions. The two party slates are normally submitted and voted on at the same time. Assignment to committees must take into account Rule XXV 4 of the Standing Rules of the Senate concerning service on committees.

The ratio of majority to minority members of committees is arrived at prior to the submission of slates by agreement between the leaders of the two parties and generally reflects the political complexion of the Senate. For example, during the 80th Congress the Senate was composed of 51 Republicans and 45 Democrats and the composition of the committee was set at 7 to 6. During the 88th Congress, the Senate had 67 Democrats and 33 Republicans and the committee alinement of 12 Democrats and 5 Republicans reflected this composition.

Following the election in 1980, the Republicans became the majority party in the Senate for the first time since 1954 (53 Republicans, 46 Democrats and 1 Independent). Therefore, the breakdown of the committee became 9 Republicans and 8 Democrats.

The parties have differing procedures for arriving at their slates of nominees for committee membership. The Democratic caucus, composed of all Senate Democrats, appoints a steering committee, on the recommendation of the Democratic leader, which decides on the Democratic slate, taking into account the preferences of the members, seniority, and the custom of assigning two major committee seats to each Democratic Senator. Moreover, beginning with the 95th Congress, the Democratic caucus had agreed to choose chairmen of the standing committees by secret ballot unless waived. On the Republican side, the chairman of the Republican conference appoints a committee on committees which in turn recommends assignments based on members' preferences and seniority. Although committees are appointed anew each Congress, it is traditional that Senators are reappointed to the committee to which they were assigned the previous Congress unless they specifically desire otherwise, or they have vacated their Senate seat, or party ratio changes enough to bump junior members. For example, in the 90th Congress, in order to reflect the change in the Senate ratio, a Democratic seat occupied by Senator Gale W. McGee, was reassigned to the Republicans and filled by Senator John Sherman Cooper, and in September 1975 Senator Baker lost his seat on the committee as a result of a Democratic victory in the New Hampshire election.

### *Chairman*

The chairman of the committee is elected on the same slate as the committee members of the majority party and is generally the most senior member in terms of committee service of that party's committee slate. Inasmuch as Senate traditions prior to 1970 prohibited a Senator from occupying more than one chairmanship, there have been instances where a lower ranking majority member (in terms of committee service) has been chairman, such as 1941–46, when Senator Connally was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, while two of his seniors on the committee, Senator Walter F. George and Senator Robert F. Wagner, presided over the Finance and the Banking and Currency Committees, respectively, and 1947–48 when the senior Republican member, Senator Capper, was chairman of the Agriculture Committee and Senator Vandenberg presided over the Foreign Relations Committee. This tradition was enacted into law by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, subject to a "grandfather" clause.

* * * * * * *

Standing committees, such as the Foreign Relations Committee, continue and have the power to act until their successors are appointed. For instance, although committees were not appointed by the Senate in the 88th Congress until February 25, 1963, the Foreign Relations Committee began meeting and transacting business on January 9, 1963, when Congress convened.

A complete listing of committee members, composition, and chairmen is contained in appendixes I, II, and III. The list shows interesting party identifications as well, such as Anti-Democrat, Jeffersonian Democrat, Native American, Oldline Whig, Union Republican, Farm-Labor, and Progressive. There are also six Presidents, ranging from Andrew Jackson to John F. Kennedy, and nine Vice Presidents from John C. Calhoun to Hubert H. Humphrey. From its membership also came 19 Secretaries of State, beginning with Henry Clay and the most recent being Edmund S. Muskie. In addition, a great many ambassadorships and positions in international organizations have been filled by former members of the committee. It should also be pointed out that on April 24, 1970, Senator J. W. Fulbright exceeded the length of service of Senator Shelby Cullom, who served from December 18, 1901 to March 4, 1913—the previous record for a Foreign Relations Committee chairman.

## JURISDICTION

The Constitutional provisions already cited form the basis for the committee's jurisdiction. They are further elaborated in Rule XXV 1.(j)(1) of the Standing Rules of the Senate as follows:

1. Acquisition of land and buildings for embassies and legations in foreign countries.
2. Boundaries of the United States.
3. Diplomatic service.
4. Foreign economic, military, technical, and humanitarian assistance.
5. Foreign loans.
6. International activities of the American National Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

7. International aspects of nuclear energy, including nuclear transfer policy.
8. International conferences and congresses.
9. International law as it relates to foreign policy.
10. International Monetary Fund and other international organizations established primarily for international monetary purposes (except that, at the request of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, any proposed legislation relating to such subjects reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations shall be referred to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs).
11. Intervention abroad and declarations of war.
12. Measures to foster commercial intercourse with foreign nations and to safeguard American business interests abroad.
13. National security and international aspects of trusteeships of the United States.
14. Oceans and international environmental and scientific affairs as they relate to foreign policy.
15. Protection of United States citizens abroad and expatriation.
16. Relations of the United States with foreign nations generally.
17. Treaties and executive agreements, except reciprocal trade agreements.
18. United Nations and its affiliated organizations.
19. World Bank group, the regional development banks, and other international organizations established primarily for development assistance purposes.
20. Such committee shall also study and review, on a comprehensive basis, matters relating to the national security policy, foreign policy, and international economic policy as it relates to foreign policy of the United States, and matters relating to food, hunger, and nutrition in foreign countries, and report thereon from time to time.

Every bill, resolution, executive communication, nomination, or report falling within these jurisdictional limits is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. So are treaties, ipso facto, regardless of subject matter.

In cases of conflicting or overlapping jurisdiction, Rule XVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, provides that—

> . . . in any case in which a controversy arises as to the jurisdiction of any committee with respect to any proposed legislation, the question of jurisdiction shall be decided by the presiding officer, without debate, in favor of the committee which has jurisdiction over the subject matter which predominates in such proposed legislation; but such decision shall be subject to an appeal.

As a matter of fact, however, frequently these jurisdictional questions have been resolved, under unanimous-consent agreements, by joint or sequential or simultaneous referrals. In other instances more informal methods have been used.

The use of all these techniques has become more widespread in recent years as foreign and domestic policy matters have become increasingly intermingled and the issues have become more complex, involving the expertise of more than one committee. With the exception of the Appropriations Committee, there is no standing committee with which the Foreign Relations Committee has not shared jurisdiction at one time or another.

*Sequential referrals*

A frequently used procedure is an agreement for the sequential referral of bills falling within several jurisdictions. Generally speaking jurisdiction over fisheries and maritime issues is shared with the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee; national security matters with the Armed Services Committee; certain legal matters with the Judiciary Committee; foreign agricultural policy with the

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee; and volunteer service programs with the Labor and Human Resources Committee. Examples of such sequential referrals during the 96th Congress were: a bill to establish an Institute for Technology and Cooperation (which was referred to Governmental Affairs after being reported by Foreign Relations); and a bill increasing the U.S. quota in the IMF (which was ordered referred to Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs after being reported by Foreign Relations).

Sequential referrals are often coupled with a limitation on the time during which the secondary committee(s) must act or request the Senate for an extension of time.

### *Joint referrals*

The most frequent joint referrals in the past had been with the Armed Services Committee and included the early military assistance acts, the 1951 Far Eastern investigation prompted by the dismissal of General MacArthur, the so-called "area" resolutions (Formosa, 1955; Middle East, 1957; Cuba, 1962, and Tonkin Gulf, 1964 which, to varying degrees, declared the vital interests of the United States in the particular area and authorized the President to take any steps deemed necessary to maintain peace there), and resolutions relating to troop deployments in Europe. Joint referrals involving other committees, however, have become more frequent. For example, beginning with 1973, some of the legislation, which was jointly referred to Foreign Relations, dealt with the following subjects: defining the act of state doctrine (Judiciary); implementing legislation for the International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage (Commerce); add-on retirement benefits (Post Office and Civil Service and Armed Services); an amendment to the Trading with the Enemy Act concerning trade with North Vietnam (Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs); establishing an Office of Foreign Policy and National Security Analysis (Armed Services); pertaining to nuclear proliferation (Joint Committee on Atomic Energy). In the 96th Congress, an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act and the Public Service Act concerning international cooperation in health was jointly referred to Labor and Human Resources, Governmental Affairs and Foreign Relations; legislation to terminate the Interim Convention of North Pacific Fur Seals went jointly to Commerce, Science and Transportation and Foreign Relations; and a bill to establish an observer program on all fishing vessels was referred jointly to Commerce, Science and Transportation, Environment and Energy, and Foreign Relations.

A new peak in joint referrals was reached in 1976 when S. 3637, the proposed "National Materials Policy, Research, and Organization Act," was jointly referred to 11 standing committees, including Foreign Relations.

On occasion both sequential and joint referrals have been used for the same measure, such as the bill for combatting international terrorism, which, after being reported from the Governmental Affairs Committee, was referred jointly to Foreign Relations, Commerce, Science and Transportation, Intelligence and Judiciary Committees; and the Deep Seabed Hard Mineral Resources Act, reported from Energy and Natural Resources, Commerce, Science and Transportation, and Foreign

Relations and then jointly referred to Finance, and Environment and Public Works Committees, subject to a time limitation.

In the case of joint referrals, committees need not necessarily meet together during hearings and markup sessions but they must file a joint report setting forth their recommendations.

*Simultaneous referrals*

During the 94th Congress for the first time bills were referred simultaneously to Foreign Relations and other committees, establishing yet another method of dealing with jurisdictional problems in the Senate. One bill (S. 3151) would establish a program for gathering and analyzing information with respect to multinational enterprises and would require publication of such material on a regular basis. The unanimous consent agreement by which this bill was referred "simultaneously" to the Foreign Relations and Commerce Committees also specified that "should either committee report the bill, the remaining committee will have 45 calendar days within which to file its report."

With respect to another item, S. Res. 434, the "Treaty Powers Resolution" an order to refer it jointly to the Committees on Foreign Relations, Rules and Administration, Appropriations, Judiciary and Budget was subsequently rescinded and the measure was then simultaneously referred to the same committees with the exception of Rules and Administration. The following colloquy in the Senate of May 6, 1976, clarifies the latter order:

> Mr. GRIFFIN. What is the effect of this request?
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. The effect will be that each committee to which the bill is referred would be entitled to file a separate report without regard to any other committee or without requiring a joint report of the several committees.
>
> Mr. GRIFFIN. Whereas under the agreement previously, the several committees had to file a joint report, as I understood it.
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.
>
> Mr. GRIFFIN. If one of the named committees, under the request now pending were to report the resolution, would it then go on the calendar, or would it still be pending in the other committee?
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the practices of the Senate, that report would be held in abeyance until the other committee report and it would not go on the calendar.
>
> Mr. GRIFFIN. It would not go on the calendar.
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.
>
> Mr. GRIFFIN. I wish to be certain of that because, if it does go on the calendar, this arrangement would, in effect, set up a kind of race among the committees to anyone reporting it. It would then go on the calendar and the referral to the other committee would be academic.
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. That has been the practice of the Senate in the past.
>
> Mr. GRIFFIN. So it would not go on the calendar until the other committees also reported?
>
> The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

*Informal methods*

Informal methods include invitations to interested Senators (in the case of NATO the entire Senate) to participate in the committee's hearings and ask questions, without, however, the right to vote in the committee; correspondence with interested committees seeking their views on provisions falling within their expertise, as for instance with the Joint Committee on Taxation on double taxation conventions: or establishment of joint subcommittees as was done in 1974 by the Judiciary and Foreign Relations Committees to study wiretapping issues arising out of the confirmation hearings with Secretary Kissinger. In 1980 two Senators from the Foreign Relations Committee were appointed to serve as members of the Special Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee to Investigate Activities of Individuals Representing the Interests of Foreign Governments, which was created to investigate charges involving President Carter's brother.

### *Intelligence and intelligence activities*

Until the creation in 1976 of a Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, oversight of intelligence operations was a divided responsibility, exercised principally by a joint subcommittee of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees. For a time in the late 1960's, members of the Foreign Relations Committee were invited to participate in such oversight meetings. In 1974, through an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act commonly known as the Hughes-Ryan amendment, the committee was given joint jurisdiction with several other committees over certain activities of the Central Intelligence Agency relating to covert operations. That arrangement, in turn, was superseded by the oversight provisions of the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1980, which placed the principal responsibility for oversight of intelligence activities, including covert operations, under the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The Senate Intelligence Committee was established in 1976 in the wake of a series of public disclosures regarding activities of the CIA. Its creation had been a principal recommendation of the temporary Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with respect to intelligence activities, chaired by Senator Church. Included in its membership are two members of the Foreign Relations Committee, at present Senators Lugar and Biden. Under the oversight provision of the Intelligence Authorization Act of 1980, Senate and House Intelligence Committees are charged to "promptly call to the attention of its respective House, or to any appropriate committee or committees of its respective House, any matter relating to intelligence activities requiring the attention of such House or such committee or committees."

### *Transfers of jurisdiction*

With the informal acquiescence of the Senate, there have been instances in which transfers of jurisdiction have taken place. For instance, the language of the Reorganization Act assigned to Foreign Relations jurisdiction over "international financial and monetary organization." Yet in 1947 the respective chairmen of the Senate Banking and Currency and Foreign Relations Committees agreed that since the Banking and Currency Committee, originally handled the Bretton Woods Agreements Act, it would continue to consider legislation pertaining to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. In 1959, however, the Committee on Foreign Relations asserted its jurisdiction over these and subsequently established organizations such as the International Development Association, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Finance Corporation and the Asian Development Bank. Conversely, the St. Lawrence Seaway legislation, initially referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations since agreement with a foreign nation was involved, in time became essentially domestic in nature. Thus, jurisdiction over seaway legislation has passed to the Environment and Public Works Committee, with the Foreign Relations Committee reserving its jurisdiction over international aspects.

## COMMITTEE POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The principal areas of committee responsibilities can be broadly broken down as follows: (1) executive—recommending the advice and consent to treaties and nominations; (2) legislative—consideration of bills and resolutions; and (3) legislative oversight. There is, however, no hard and fast distinction between these activities since treaties, bills, and resolutions cannot be considered without exercising a degree of legislative oversight in the process.

### *War powers*

The War Powers Resolution was passed in 1973 over the veto of President Nixon. The initiative came from Senator Jacob K. Javits within the Foreign Relations Committee, where extensive hearings were held. The resolution arose out of a concern that the power to declare war, as exclusively reserved to the Congress by the Constitution in article I, section 8, had eroded in modern times with Presidents assuming virtual independence from congressional constraints.

The thrust of the resolution (Public Law 93-148) was to insure that the collective judgment of the Congress would be brought to bear on decisions involving the activities of United States Armed Forces which could lead to ongoing hostilities. It established a time limit for any military involvement in hostilities which were not affirmatively authorized by Congress, as well as a procedure through which the authority of Congress could be exercised to terminate U.S. involvement in hostilities at any stage. To date, the provisions on the termination of hostilities have not been engaged. Attention and some disagreement have focused instead on the resolution's provisions concerning Presidential consultation with Congress in advance of military initiatives and Presidential reporting on the circumstances and justification for military actions within 48 hours after their occurrence. The Foreign Relations Committee has the principal responsibility for oversight of these matters within the Senate.

### *Treaties and other international agreements*

Treaties have traditionally constituted a large part of the committee's work. Recently the number of treaties submitted for approval has averaged over 30 per Congress.

During the postwar period, however, the number and importance of executive agreements increased noticeably, leading to congressional action in this field to increase timely oversight of such agreements.

#### (*1*) *Treaties*

Senate responsibility for treaties stems directly from article II, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution, which states that the President "shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

The making of treaties involves a series of steps which generally include negotiation, signing, approval by the Senate, ratification by the President, deposit or exchange of ratifications with the other party(ies) to the treaty, and proclamation. Only upon the latter step does a treaty become legally binding upon the United States. The Senate is associated in this process principally at the "advice and consent" to ratification stage. Contrary to popular impression, the Senate does not ratify treaties; the President ratifies treaties upon receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification.

While the emphasis historically has been on the "consent" part of this clause, beginning in the immediate postwar period the committee has repeatedly stressed the "advice" part and claimed a right to advise the President in the negotiation of treaties and the conduct of diplomacy. This interest has at times led to the formal adoption of Senate resolutions of advice, which are briefly discussed elsewhere.

In performing its consent function to treaties the Senate has several options. Normally, the procedure for unconditional approval of a treaty is by adoption of a resolution of ratification which in the case of the nuclear test ban treaty reads as follows:

> *Be it resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein)*, That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water, which was signed at Moscow on August 5, 1963, on behalf of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*Conditions and stipulations*—The Senate may also qualify its consent by requiring amendments to the text of the treaty itself, or more frequently, by attaching reservations, understandings, or declarations to the resolution of ratification. "Reservations" are presumed to be deliberate changes in the legal effect of treaty provisions, particularly as they affect the country entering the reservation. In that sense, they are modifications in the original agreement even though they do not change the language of the treaty itself. "Understandings," on the other hand, are statements of interpretation intended to clarify the legal effect of the agreement without necessarily changing it. Finally, "declarations" are statements of intent or policy which accompany ratification, but which are not directly related to provisions of the treaty itself.

The most extensive use of such conditions in recent years was during Senate consideration of the Panama Canal treaties in 1978 and committee consideration of the SALT II Treaty in 1979. The final resolution of ratification on the first Panama Canal Treaty, the so-called "Neutrality Treaty," included two amendments, six reservations, and five understandings, while the second treaty was approved with six reservations and six understandings. In the committee's consideration of the SALT II Treaty, a somewhat different format was used for the resolution of ratification, but the total number of conditions and stipulations reported by the committee was more than twenty.

The Senate may, however, reject a treaty completely by failing to approve it with the necessary two-thirds vote. Very few treaties have been defeated in recent years. The last to be so was the Optional Protocol to the 1958 Geneva Law of the Sea Convention concerning the compulsory settlement of disputes (Executive N, 86th Cong., 1st sess.), which on May 26, 1960, received a 49 to 30 vote, less than the required two-thirds. The only other treaties which have failed of approval since the Versailles treaty in 1920 concerned U.S. adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was rejected on January 29, 1935, by a vote of 52 to 36, and the St. Lawrence Seaway, which was rejected on March 14, 1934, by a vote of 46 to 42. (The Seaway was subsequently authorized by Public Law 358, approved May 13, 1954.)

*Procedure.*—All treaties transmitted by the President to the Senate for advice and consent are referred to the committee. They remain on the committee calendar indefinitely, from Congress to Congress, until they are reported to the Senate by the committee. Treaties reported by the committee remain on the Senate calendar for the duration of a Congress or until they are disposed of. At the end of a Congress, treaties which remain on the Senate calendar are automatically rereferred to the committee in accordance with Senate Rule XXX.2.

From time to time, Presidents may request the return of treaties pending before the committee or the Senate, or the committee itself may take the initiative to return certain treaties to the President. In either case, the usual procedure is for the committee to report an executive resolution to the full Senate authorizing the return of the treaty or treaties to the President. That procedure was followed most recently in the case of the East Coast Fisheries Treaty with Canada. Senate action on reservations, understandings, interpretations, statements, or amendments requires a majority of those present and voting. Final adoption of the resolution of ratification, however, requires the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators, present and voting.

While there is no Senate rule requiring a rollcall vote on treaties, the practice of taking record votes was begun in 1953 after press attention during the previous year to the fact that three noncontroversial consular conventions were approved by the Senate at a time when only two Senators were present.[1] The requirement for a record vote was also a part of the Bricker amendment maneuvers and was adopted as a de facto practice to weaken support for the Bricker amendment.

Although generally there is a separate vote on each treaty, when a large number of similar treaties (fisheries, double taxation conventions, customs treaties, etc.) is on the executive calendar it has become a practice to consider them either "en bloc"—that is, one vote on several resolutions of ratification—or to have a single vote, which, by unanimous consent is shown separately in the Record for each treaty. This latter technique has been used at times even in the case of dissimilar treaties, over which no controversy existed, in order to expedite the business of the Senate.

The committee's treaty calendar is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the pending business before the committee, since some treaties may have little prospect of Senate action. For instance, in 1947, at the beginning of the 80th Congress, the committee had 24 treaties pending before it, dating as far back as 1923. At the request of the chairman, Senator Vandenberg, the administration reviewed the

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[1] A discussion of this incident appears in A Note on Treaty Ratification by Carl Marcy in the American Political Science Review, vol. XLVII, No. 4, December 1953, p. 1130.

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treaty calendar and requested the return of 19 of these treaties, which was granted. These reviews have continued to take place from time to time as the occasion demands.

Although treaties sometimes pend before the committee for considerable periods, the great majority of treaties are promptly and favorably disposed of. In this connection, it has become the committee's practice to leave a treaty pending for a sufficient period to allow the public time to study the treaty and to inform the committee of its views and interest in testifying on the treaty in question.

### (2) *Other international agreements*

International agreements other than treaties—so-called executive agreements—have been used by Presidents since the earliest days of the Republic. Beginning with World War II the number and importance of such agreements burgeoned, leading to an increasing concern on the part of Congress about the constitutionality of commitments made in this manner. The loose use of the word "commitment" to justify overseas interventions finally led the Senate, on June 25, 1969, to adopt a statement of what it considered to be a "national commitment." The problem was explored in hearings and executive session consideration over a period beginning in 1967. These touched on such subjects as the 1940 destroyer-for-bases deal, the British-French-United States tripartite declaration of 1950 on the Middle East, the so-called contingency plan for Thailand, and base agreements.

In 1969, the Senate concurred in the committee's recommendation of the "National Commitments Resolution," which resolved.

> That (1) a national commitment for the purpose of this resolution means the use of the Armed Forces of the United States on foreign territory, or a promise to assist a foreign country, government, or people by the use of the Armed Forces or financial resources of the United States, either immediately or upon the happening of certain events, and (2) it is the sense of the Senate that a national commitment by the United States results only from affirmative action taken by the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government by means of a treaty, statute, or concurrent resolution of both Houses of Congress specifically providing for such commitment. (S. Res. 85, 91st Cong.)

One of the first concrete instances to engage the committee's attention after adoption of the National Commitments Resolution was the extension of the so-called Spanish base agreement on August 6, 1970. As the committee viewed it, this agreement contained an implicit commitment to defend Spain in the event of an attack, as well as substantial financial support for the Spanish Government. The committee felt strongly that the agreement partook of the nature of a treaty and should be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent, and so advised the State Department. The executive branch proceeded otherwise, however, and after a series of executive and public hearings in which the committee was assured that the agreement entailed no U.S. commitment to defend Spain, the Senate, on the committee's recommendation, adopted a resolution (S. Res. 469, 91st Cong., agreed to December 11, 1970) stating its sense that "nothing in the said agreement . . . shall be deemed to be a national commitment by the United

States." In time, however the Senate's expressions were taken into account and the renewal of the Spanish base agreement was submitted as a treaty in 1976.

The Case Act of 1972 (P.L. 92–403) addressed itself directly to executive agreements and provides—

> The Secretary of State shall transmit to the Congress the text of any international agreement, other than a treaty, to which the United States is a party as soon as practicable after such agreement has entered into force with respect to the United States but in no event later than sixty days thereafter.

In the event such agreements are classified, they are to be transmitted instead to the Committees on Foreign Relations of the Senate and Foreign Affairs of the House under an appropriate injunction of secrecy.

The committee viewed the Act as "a significant step toward redressing the imbalance between Congress and the executive in the making of foreign policy" . . . and "an effective means of dealing with the prior question of secrecy and of asserting the obligation of the executive to report its foreign commitments to Congress."

In 1978, the Case Act was further amended to make clear inclusion of oral argeements, to designate the Secretary of State as the judge within the executive branch as to what constitutes an international agreement, and to require a formal explanation from the President when agreements are not properly transmitted before the sixty-day deadline. Contrary to a widespread public perception, however, the Case Act does not provide for congressional veto of international agreements and does not require affirmative action by the Congress to approve international agreements before they enter into force.

### *Nominations*

The committee's responsibility with respect to nominations, like that with respect to treaties, arises from article II, section 2, paragraph 2, of the Constitution (previously cited).

Pursuant to this provision, the Senate refers to the committee nominations of officials to positions in the Department of State, ambassadors and ministers, representatives to international organizations, and officials to other positions established by laws which are within the jurisdiction of the committee. These include positions in the Agency for International Development, the International Communication Agency, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Peace Corps, U.S. representatives in the various international banking institutions, and advisory bodies to these agencies. Appointments, promotions, and designations of Foreign Service Officers, as well, are referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and constitute the bulk, numerically, of the nominations handled. For instance, in the 96th Congress the committee handled 2,728 nominations of which 2,494 were career officer promotions.

A detailed description of the confirmation requirements and processes, together with relevant case histories, is set forth in the committee print, "The Senate Role in Foreign Affairs Appointments."

Available committee records do not show the last time the Senate rejected a nomination within the jurisdiction of the Foreign Relations Committee. It may have been in 1889 when "the Senate refused to confirm Benjamin Harrison's nomination of Murat Halstead, an Ohio journalist, as Minister to Germany, because of a series of articles he had written denouncing the purchase of Senate seats." [1] However, in more recent times, one nominee, Ernest W. Lefever, withdrew his own name from consideration as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs after an adverse vote in committee in June 1981. Other nominations have been withdrawn by the President as a result of controversies surrounding them, while still others have simply not been acted on by the committee or the Senate, as, for instance the withdrawal in 1973 of the nomination of G. McMurtrie Godley to be an Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and the non-action in 1974 on the nomination of Graham Martin to be Ambassador at Large for Micronesian negotiations and five others to be members of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's General Advisory Committee. At the end of the 96th Congress, there were 14 nominations that had been reported by the committee, but had not received Senate confirmation.

All nominations not confirmed or rejected by the end of a session lapse with the adjournment or recess of the Senate for more than 30 days, unless otherwise ordered by the Senate. The President has the power to issue recess appointments when he deems it desirable. Such recess appointments, however, have to be submitted to the Senate not later than 40 days after the commencement of the next session in order for the incumbent to continue to receive a salary (5 U.S.C. 5503).

The Committee on Foreign Relations has been continually interested in the caliber and qualifications of nominees. The rules adopted by the committee to govern its consideration of nominations, appear on p. 24.

On January 14, 1953, the committee adopted a rule requiring an FBI investigation of nominees prior to the submission of names to the Senate. Only twice has the question of committee access to the FBI files themselves come up. In the first case, that of Charles E. Bohlen in 1953, a subcommittee of two Senators reviewed a summary of the FBI file. In the second, that of Helmut Sonnefeldt in 1973, a staff member was authorized to review his security files. In 1981, however, the committee adopted a policy of requesting access for any member of the committee who wished to review such files.

On February 17, 1953, the committee adopted a 6-day rule, which calls for the passage of 6 calendar days after the receipt of a nomination by the Senate before the committee will consider the nomination. This rule has been waived occasionally, mainly in the case of career appointments when the nominee was already abroad, in situations of urgent need to get the nominee to his post, or in the case of nominations received just before congressional adjournment.

At about the same time, in 1953 the committee commenced the practice of examining the appointees to all important positions in Washington and abroad whenever possible. Prior to this time hearings, executive or open, were held on a nomination only when someone requested to be heard on the nomination, and not as a matter of regular procedure. The practice initiated in 1953 was acknowledged and fur-

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[1] Harris, "The Advice and Consent of the Senate," p. 291. (See bibliography.)

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ther refined on July 30, 1957, when the committee adopted a motion "that from now on all nominees for ambassadorial and ministerial posts be heard in open session unless a majority of the committee decrees otherwise."

In 1972 the committee increased the number of nominations to be submitted to it by providing that the names of all persons granted the rank of ambassador be submitted for confirmation "except that the personal rank of ambassador or minister may be conferred by the President in connection with special missions for the President of an essentially limited and temporary nature of not exceeding six months." That provision was further modified by the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to require advance notice of Presidential intent to nominate such ambassadors with personal rank and to provide justifications for these appointments.

The age-old question of political contributions by ambassadorial nominees was dealt with in the Department of State Authorization Act of 1973 (Public Law 93-126, signed October 18, 1973). Sec. 6 of that act required that each person appointed by the President as ambassador or minister should file a report of contributions made by such persons and by members of his immediate family. The Act of 1974 added the further requirement that "The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate shall have printed in the Congressional Record each such report."

However, these provisions were revised by the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-465, signed October 17, 1980). Sec. 304 (b)(2) of that act provides that:

> Each individual nominated by the President to be a chief of mission, ambassador at large, or minister shall, at the time of nomination, file with the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report of contributions made by such individual and by members of his or her immediate family during the period beginning on the first day of the fourth calendar year preceding the calendar year of the nomination and ending on the date of the nomination. The report shall be verified by the oath of the nominee, taken before any individual authorized to administer oaths. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate shall have each such report printed in the Congressional Record. As used in this paragraph, the term "contribution" has the same meaning given such term by section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)), and the term "immediate family" means the spouse of the nominee, and any child, parent, grandparent, brother, or sister of the nominee and the spouses of any of them.

Section 304(4) of the 1980 Act also established the new requirement that:

> (4) The President shall provide the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, with each nomination for an appointment as a chief of mission, a report on the demonstrated competence of that nominee to perform the duties of the position in which he or she is to serve.

The report of demonstrated competence, which sets forth the rationale for the selection and assignment of the chief of mission, is now provided to the committee as a matter of regular course by the State Department prior to the scheduling of the prospective nominee's confirmation hearing.

Subsequent amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 also provided for reporting campaign contributions and overlap to a certain degree those of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act.

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At present, the committee requires each nominee to file a signed statement prior to his confirmation hearing, covering the following areas: (A) Biographical Information, (B) Financial Data (including a confidential statement), (C) Future Employment Relationships, (D) Potential Conflicts of Interest and (E) Legal Matters.

### *Bills and resolutions*

Since the documents, "How a Bill Becomes a Law" and "Legislative Procedural Flow," issued periodically by Congress, describe the legislative process in detail, only a few aspects of it will be noted here.

Legislative matters are comprised of bills, joint resolutions, concurrent resolutions and resolutions. Bills and joint resolutions both become law upon signature by the President and therefore carry equal weight. The basic distinction between them is a matter of intent. Bills are the most widely used legislative vehicles; joint resolutions are used mainly for the approval of international agreements, membership in international organizations, and expressing views of both Houses of Congress that are meant to have the force of law. Concurrent and simple resolutions express the sense of the Congress in the former case and the sense of the Senate or the House in the latter case. They do not require signature by the President and therefore do not have the force of law.

However, in recent years Congress has increasingly established procedures in legislation by which concurrent resolutions can be used to disapprove proposed Presidential actions, so-called "legislative" or "congressional vetoes." In such cases, concurrent resolutions do have the effect of law, although the constitutionality of such procedures has been challenged in the Federal courts and has yet to be decided by the Supreme Court.

Two important areas in which the Foreign Relations Committee has responsibility for the consideration of such concurrent resolution vetoes are covered by the Arms Export Control Act of 1976, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978. The AECA establishes a veto procedure for major arms sales and the NNPA does so for shipments of nuclear fuel and for international agreements for cooperation in nuclear matters.

Simple resolutions, while in a sense the lowest form of congressional action, can at times carry considerable weight, such as the Connally and Fulbright resolutions of 1943 pledging U.S. participation in a post World War II international organization; the Vandenberg resolution of 1949 which presaged the formation of NATO, and the National Commitments Resolution of 1969 (see p. 12) which defined what the Senate will consider to be a commitment binding on the United States. In fact one Senate resolution was deemed to be so important as to have the nature of a treaty requiring a two-thirds vote for adoption—the 1946 resolution by which the Senate advised the President to accept on behalf of the United States the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice in certain matters. The use of Senate resolutions to advise the President, under the advice and consent clause of the Constitution, has become relatively widespread in the postwar period, as previously noted.

To give such advice the maximum weight possible, the committee has made it a practice to append a provision directing the Secretary of the Senate to transmit the resolution to the President for appropriate action and for a report on such action to the Senate within a specified time period.

The most important recurring legislative responsibilties of the committee are the annual authorization bills for the appropriations of funds for agencies and programs under the committee's jurisdiction—principally the State Department, United States International Communication Agency, Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and the Board for International Broadcasting. With the enactment of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, all standing committees are required to submit to the Committee on the Budget, by March 15 each year, their estimates of the total amounts of new budget authority to be provided in such authorizing legislation, in order to enable the Senate, by May 15, to pass the first concurrent resolution on the Budget, setting levels of government spending and revenue for the fiscal year ahead. All authorizing legislation must also be reported to the Senate by the same date. Any money-carrying bills reported after May 15 are subject to a point of order unless a waiver is obtained by the adoption of a resolution by the Senate. These new procedures, which went fully into effect in 1976, are designed to give the Congress a better overview of the expected outlays and also revenues for the upcoming fiscal year. They have also affected the committee's scheduling of legislation and other matters to give early priority to the so-called money bills.

Committee procedures with respect to bills, joint, concurrent and simple resolutions are the same.

The committee files written reports on a majority of the matters it sends to the Senate with the exception of some printing, budget waiver and administrative resolutions and nominations, although on occasions it also has submitted written reports on those. Occasionally the committee has filed adverse reports, recommending that a measure not be adopted. Senate Resolution 116, by Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin, would have expressed the sense of the Senate that prior to any conference between heads of state (referring to the proposed Geneva Summit Conference in 1955), the Secretary of State should secure the agreement of other parties at the Conference that one of the subjects for discussion should be the present and future status of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia then under Communist control. The committee's adverse finding was sustained by the Senate on June 22, 1955, by a vote of 4 to 77. The most recent instances of adverse committee reports were on a bill establishing a Foreign Service Scholarship program in 1971, a bill to establish an International Commerce Service in 1974, and bills extending U.S. jurisdiction over the fisheries zone to 200 miles in 1974 and 1975. In the latter case, as well as some others, the Senate did not sustain the committee's adverse finding.

As a general rule, however, measures of which the committee does not approve are either tabled, held over, or postponed without any written explanation.

The committee has occasionally reported a measure without recommendation, such as: the first International Wheat Agreement in 1948, a St. Lawrence Seaway bill in 1952; in 1965 H.R. 30, a bill authorizing U.S. participation in a cultural and trade center in Florida; in 1968, an amendment to the Agriculture Act of 1956 relating to long-staple cotton, which was subsequently pocket-vetoed; S. Con. Res. 86 relating to sales of armaments to Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia in 1978; and in 1979 a concurrent resolution opposing sanctions in 1978; in 1979 a concurrent resolution opposing sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia; and in 1981 a bill seeking a particular form of legislative settlement for outstanding property claims against the Government of Czechoslovakia.

*Legislative oversight activities*

The Committee on Foreign Relations, along with other standing committees, is specifically charged with exercising legislative oversight by Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, which reads as follows:

> 8. (a) In order to assist the Congress in—
>
> (1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and
>
> (2) its formulations, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate,
>
> each standing committee (except the Committees on Appropriations and the Budget), shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the legislative jurisdiction of that committee. Such committees may carry out the required analysis, appraisal, and evaluation themselves, or by contract, or may require a Government agency to do so and furnish a report thereon to the Senate. Such committees may rely on such techniques as pilot testing, analysis of costs in comparison with benefits or provision for evaluation after a defined period of time.
>
> (b) In each odd-numbered year each such committee shall submit, not later than March 31, to the Senate, a report on the activities of that committee under this paragraph during the Congress ending at noon on January 3 of such year.

It has already been noted that in recent years the committee's legislative oversight activities have burgeoned. This has resulted from a variety of factors—the increasing number of programs within the committee's jurisdiction, the numerous provisions in laws requiring the submission of determinations and reports, the transmittal of executive agreements as of 1973 and of budget rescissions and deferrals as of 1975, the notifications of proposed arms sales and arms transfers, reporting under the War Powers Act, submission of arms control impact statements, and other factors.

A few statistics will serve to illustrate this growth. During the 92d Congress 83 communications from the executive branch in the foreign affairs area were received by the Senate and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. This number increased to 184 in the 93d Congress and reached 233 by the end of 1979, during the 96th Congress. During the 92d Congress, 85 executive agreements (not including classified agreements) were referred to the committee; during the 93d this number jumped to 396 and as of June 1, 1976, had already reached 406 during the 94th Congress. Thirty-one messages advising of budget rescissions and deferrals had been received by June 1, 1976 during the 94th Congress as against none the previous Congresses. Finally, in the 94th Congress, as of June 1, 1976, the committee had received over 250 reports required by provisions of various laws.

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The committee is responsible for having this mass of material analyzed and for proposing remedial action where deemed necessary. Such action can take the form of amendments to existing laws or legislative vetoes by concurrent resolution, as is provided for in such laws as the Foreign Military Sales Act, the War Powers Resolution, and the Congressional Budget Act. This area of committee operations is largely invisible since only when some question is raised about an executive branch proposal does public action result, as for instance over the projected sale of Hawk missiles to Jordan and of Airborne Warning Aircraft to NATO in 1976 or armaments to Israel. Egypt and Saudi Arabia in 1978, and again to Saudi Arabia in 1981.

The committee has developed varying techniques in exercising legislative oversight: day-to-day personal contacts with administration officials; correspondence with officials growing out of difficulties brought to the committee's attention by the public or Government employees (a collection of such correspondence relating to the State Department was published in 1960 under the title "Administration of the Department of State" and supplemented in 1962); on-the-spot inspections abroad by committee members or staff (generally followed by reports, either printed or confidential, to the committee); special short-term studies of foreign policy problems (such as the investigation of events relating to the summit conference in 1960, of East-West trade policy, of the Dominican Republican intervention in 1965, U.S. security interests and policies in Southwest Asia in 1980); public hearings on proposals such as nuclear reactor sales to South Africa in 1976; and the establishment of special subcommittees to study in depth a particular area, problem, or program. Activities of legislative oversight subcommittees are described elsewhere.

Contacts with administration officials can be formal or informal and normally take place at all levels throughout the year. It is customary for the Secretary of State to launch this process at the beginning of a year by giving the committee a world review soon after the Congress convenes. It is also customary for him to appear before the committee before and after important international conferences or trips. Heads of other departments, officers of the Armed Forces, under secretaries, assistant secretaries, and American ambassadors on Washington visits appear likewise on problems within their areas of responsibilities either before the full committee or the appropriate subcommittee.

Travel by committee members and staff also serves the oversight function. Indeed committee members are encouraged to visit other countries and to meet with government officials and other leaders in those countries in order to evaluate the effectiveness of United States overseas programs and meet their legislative oversight responsibilities. Members and staff of the Committee on Foreign Relations are required to report their findings to the committee (see Rules p. 25) and these reports are frequently printed as committee documents.

The official travel expenses of members of the committee and staff are paid either from the contingent fund of the Senate or by the use of U.S.-owned foreign currencies which are available to appropriate committees of the Congress engaged in carrying out their duties under the Standing Rules of the Senate. In accordance with Sec. 502 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and 22 U.S.C. 1754 (b), as amended, each Senator and committee staff member who uses funds is required to submit an itemized report showing the amounts

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expended and the purposes for which expended. Such reports are open to public inspection.

Also in the line of legislative oversight, as well as advising the executive, Senators and Representatives have been appointed to delegations, or as congressional advisers, to international conferences. This practice began as early as 1814, when President Madison appointed Senator Thomas F. Bayard and Congressman Henry Clay as two of the five members of the Peace Commission which negotiated the Treaty of Ghent. It has become more marked during the last 20 years, beginning with the appointments of Senators Connally and Vandenberg and Representatives Bloom and Eaton to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco in 1945.

It is now customary practice for the State Department to ask the Presiding Officer of the Senate to designate Senators to attend important international conferences, such as the periodic Law of the Sea Conferences, the World Food and the World Population Conferences of 1974, the United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development, the Geneva Conferences of the Committee on Disarmament; and, among those in 1980, the OAS General Assembly, the annual meetings of the Boards of Governors of international banks and the International Labor Organization.

Most international organizations also have annual or biennial meetings of their membership, and it has become customary also to include Members of Congress in the U.S. delegations to those sessions as observers or advisers, when deemed desirable. For instance, a few years after the United Nations came into being an informal arrangement was made between the House, Senate, and the Department of State whereby in nonelection years, two members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee would be on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, and in election years, two Senators, generally members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, not up for reelection, would be U.S. delegates. The Senators serving on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly have been as follows:

1946—Senators Connally and Vandenberg.
1947—Senators Vandenberg and Connally.
1950—Senators Sparkman (not a committee member) and Lodge.
1952—Senators Green and Wiley.
1954—Senators (H. Alexander) Smith and Fulbright.
1956—Senators Humphrey and Knowland.
1958—Senators Mansfield and Hickenlooper.
1960—Senators Morse and Aiken.
1962—Senators Gore and Allott (not a committee member).
1964—Senators (Russell B.) Long and Carlson.
1966—Senators Church and (Clifford P.) Case.
1968—Senators Symington and Cooper.
1970—Senators Pell and Javits.
1972—Senators McGee and Pearson.
1974—Senators Symington and Percy.
1976—Senators McGovern and Baker.
1978—Senators Ribicoff (not a committee member) and Pearson.
1980—Senators Tsongas and Javits.

*Interparliamentary activities*

Interparliamentary activities concern and involve the entire Congress. For instance, every Member of Congress is *ipso facto* a member of the Interparliamentary Union. Legislation authorizing the participation in such activities, however, has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and it is, therefore, more directly responsible and involved than other committees. Moreover, as the principal committee dealing with international relations, the committee has taken an active interest in assuring adequate preparation and representation at the various interparliamentary meetings.

In addition, Public Law 86–42 and Public Law 86–420, which authorize participation in the Canada-United States and the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Groups, respectively, include the provision that not less than four of the 12 Senators appointed by the President of the Senate to participate in such meetings be from the Foreign Relations Committee. And in 1975, an amendment to the Act authorizing U.S. participation in the Interparliamentary Union specified that no less than two of the delegates shall be members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The oldest formally organized interparliamentary body is the Interparliamentary Union, to which all nations with national parliamentary bodies may apply for membership. The Congress has participated in the Union since its establishment in 1889. Current legislative authority for such participation dates from 1935.

The next oldest group with which the U.S. Congress has been associated is the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, formed as the Empire Parliamentary Association in 1911. Although the Congress is, of course, not a member of this organization, the association has made it a practice to invite Congress to participate in that portion of its annual meetings devoted to a discussion of international issues. These invitations have been accepted by the Senate upon occasion. Senate resolutions have been passed to authorize participation.

U.S. participation in the North Atlantic Assembly, formerly the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference, was authorized in 1956 on a permanent basis. The law provides for the appointment of not to exceed 24 Members of the Congress (12 from each House) to each conference (Public Law 84–689).

The Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group is an outgrowth of discussions in 1959 between United States and Canadian legislators authorized by Senate Resolution 359 in 1958. Following these initial discussions, participation by the United States in parliamentary conferences with Canada was authorized on a permanent basis by Public Law 86–42, enacted in 1959. The appointment each year of not to exceed 12 Senators and 12 Representatives is authorized for this purpose. The participating countries alternate in acting as host to the conferences.

To balance the arrangement with its northern neighbor, the U.S. Congress in 1960 approved similar participation in a Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group by Public Law 86–420.

In addition to the formal or regular meetings of the above-described organizations, there are other contacts on informal or irregular basis. For instance, the Council of Europe has occasionally invited Members of Congress to meet with it. Likewise, it has become customary for a small congressional group to meet some years with a similar group from the British Parliament. In 1974 and 1978, the Congress entertained a parliamentary delegation from the Soviet Union. Additional bilateral exchanges have been suggested by certain countries and invitations for congressional visits have been received from others. In 1965, for the first time, the Senate, at the recommendation of the committee, adopted a resolution authorizing the President of the Senate to respond, for the duration of the 89th Congress, to invitations officially received from foreign governmental or parliamentary bodies by naming official Senate delegates to accept such invitations and providing for the payment of expenses of such delegations, not to exceed $25,000 per delegation. Similar resolutions covering the 90th Congress (S. Res. 115) and the 91st Congress (S. Res. 65) were passed by the Senate on May 19, 1967, and February 17, 1969, respectively. After a lapse of 5 years, this authority was renewed in 1975 (S. Res. 86, agreed to February 24, 1975) and the financial ceiling raised to $35,000 per delegation. Delegation expenses are now paid out of the Senate's contingency fund (S. Res. 179, approved May 25, 1977).

To deal with the reverse flow of official visitors to the United States, the Senate on March 6, 1958 agreed to S. Res. 259, which provided $5,000 "to provide assistance to Members of the Senate in the discharge of their responsibilities in connection with visiting foreign dignitaries, and for other purposes."

In March 1975, the amount was raised to $10,000 to cover the cost of inflation, the increase in the number of visitors, and to include officials of Intergovernmental Organizations in addition to foreign government officials. In June 1976 this sum was further raised to $15,000 in view of the large bicentennial influx of foreign dignitaries, and in 1977 to $25,000.

## COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

Up to the time of enactment of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, the Committee on Foreign Relations had no formal rules of procedure additional to those contained in the earlier Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The new act, however, provided that all committees, standing, select, or special, adopt rules and publish them in the Congressional Record no later than March 1 of each year (now Rule XXVI.2 of the Standing Rules of the Senate).

The most recent rules were printed in the Congressional Record of February 24, 1981, as follows:

### RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

(Adopted January 14, 1981)

#### RULE 1—COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS

(a) *Regular meeting day.*—The regular meeting day of the Committee on Foreign Relations for the transaction of Committee business shall be on Tuesday of each week, unless otherwise directed by the Chairman.

(b) Each meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations, or any subcommittee thereof, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public, except that a meeting or series of meetings by the Committee or a subcommittee on the same subject for a period of no more than fourteen calendar

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days may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in paragraphs (1) through (6) would require the meeting to be closed followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the members of the committee or subcommittee when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings—

(1) will disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interests of national defense or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

(2) will relate solely to matters of Committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

(3) will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy, or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual;

(4) will disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or will disclose any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement;

(5) will disclose information relating to the trade secrets or financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person if—

(A) an Act of Congress requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or

(B) the information has been obtained by the Government on a confidential basis, other than through an application by such person for a specific Government financial or other benefit, and is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person; or

(6) may divulge matters required to be kept confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulations.

A closed meeting may be opened by a majority vote of the Committee.

(c) *Quorum requirements.*—(1) A majority of the membership of the Committee shall constitute a quorum for reporting any measure or recommendation to the Senate. No measure or recommendation shall be ordered reported from the Committee unless a majority of the Committee members are actually present. The vote of the Committee to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of those members who are actually present at the time the vote is taken.

(2) A quorum for the transaction of Committee or subcommittee business, other than for reporting a measure or recommendation to the Senate or the taking of testimony, shall consist of one-third of the members of the Committee or subcommittee, including at least one member from each party.

(3) For the purpose of taking sworn or unsworn testimony at any duly scheduled meeting, a quorum of the Committee and each subcommittee thereof shall consist of one member.

(d) *Proxy voting.*—Proxy voting shall be allowed on all measures and matters before the Committee. However, proxies shall not be voted for the purpose of reporting a measure or matter except when the absent members has been informed of the matter on which he is being recorded and has affirmatively requested that he be so recorded. All proxies shall be in writing.

(e) *Subcommittee.*—Unless otherwise authorized by law or Senate resolution, subcommittees shall be created by majority vote of the Committee and shall deal with such legislation and oversight of programs and policies as the Committee directs. Legislative measures or other matters may be referred to a subcommittee for consideration in the discretion of the Chairman or by vote of a majority of the Committee. If the principal subject matter of a measure or matter to be referred falls within the jurisdiction of more than one subcommittee, the Chairman or the Committee may refer the matter to two or more subcommittees for joint consideration.

The Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Committee shall be ex officio members, without vote, of each subcommittee.

(f) *Subcommittee meetings.*—Except when funds have been specifically made available by the Senate for a subcommittee purpose, no subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations shall hold hearings involving reporting expenses without prior approval of the Chairman of the full Committee or by decision

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**of the full Committee. Meetings of subcommittees shall be scheduled after consultation with the Chairman of the Committee with a view toward avoiding conflicts with meetings of other subcommittees insofar as possible. Meetings of subcommittees shall not be scheduled to conflict with meetings of the full Committee.**

(g) *Announcements of meetings.*—The Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall make public announcement of the date, place, time and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted on any measure or matter at least one week in advance of such hearings, unless the Chairman of the Committee, or subcommittee, determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date.

(h) *Assignments to subcommittees.*—Assignments of members to subcommittees shall be made in an equitable fashion. No member of the Committee may receive assignment to a second subcommittee until, in order of seniority, all members of the Committee have chosen assignments to one subcommittee, and no member shall receive assignments to a third subcommittee until, in the order of seniority, all members have chosen assignments to two subcommittees.

(i) *Staff attendance at meetings.*—A Member may have one member of his personal staff, for whom that Member assumes personal responsibility, accompany and be seated near him at committee meetings. Attendance of Committee staff at meetings shall be limited to those designated by the Staff Director or the Minority Staff Director.

Each member of the Committee may designate members of his personal staff, who hold a Top Secret security clearance, for the purpose of their eligibility to attend executive sessions of the Committee. The Committee, by majority vote, or the Chairman, with the concurrence of the Ranking Minority Member, may limit staff attendance at specified meetings.

(j) *Reporting requirements.*—

(1) When the Committee has ordered a measure or recommendation reported, the report thereon shall be filed in the Senate at the earliest practicable time.

(2) A member of the Committee who gives notice of his intentions to file supplemental, minority, or additional views at the time of final Committee approval of a measure or matter, shall be entitled to not less than 3 calendar days in which to file such views, in writing, with the Chief Clerk of the Committee. Such views shall then be included in the Committee report and printed in the same volume, as a part thereof, and their inclusion shall be noted on the cover of the report. In the absence of timely notice, the Committee report may be filed and printed immediately without such views.

(3) The results of all rollcall votes taken in any meeting of the Committee on any measure, or amendment thereto, shall be announced in the Committee report. The announcement shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor and votes cast in opposition to each such measure and amendment by each member of the Committee.

## RULE 2—NOMINATIONS

(a) *Waiting requirement.*—Unless otherwise directed by the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member, the Committee on Foreign Relations shall not consider any nomination until six days after it has been formally submitted to the Senate.

(b) *Public consideration.*—Nominees for any post who are invited to appear before the Committee shall be heard in public session, unless a majority of the Committee decrees otherwise.

(c) *Required data.*—No nomination shall be reported to the Senate unless (1) the nominee has been accorded a security clearance on the basis of a thorough investigation by executive branch agencies; (2) in appropriate cases, the nominee has filed a confidential financial statement with the Committee; (3) the Committee has been assured that the nominee does not have any interests which could conflict with the interests of the government in the exercise of the nominee's proposed responsibilities; and (4) for persons nominated to be ambassador or minister, the Committee has received a complete list of any contributions made by the nominee or members of his immediate family to any Federal election campaign during the year of his or her nomination and for the four preceding years.

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### RULE 3—WITNESSES

(a) *General.*—The Committee on Foreign Relations will consider requests to testify on any matter or measure pending before the Committee.

(b) *Presentation by witnesses.*—If the Chairman so determines, the oral presentation of witnesses shall be limited to ten minutes. However, written statements of reasonable length may be submitted by witnesses and other interested persons who are unable to testify in person.

(c) *Filing of statements.*—A witness appearing before the Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, shall file a written statement of his proposed testimony at least 48 hours prior to his appearance, unless this requirement is waived by the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member following their determination that there is good cause for failure to file such a statement.

### RULE 4—COMMITTEE TRAVEL

(a) *Approval procedure.*—No member of the Committee on Foreign Relations or its staff shall travel abroad on Committee business unless specifically authorized by the Chairman, who is required by law to approve vouchers and report expenditures of foreign currencies, and the Ranking Minority Member. Requests for authorization of such travel shall state the purpose and, when completed, a full substantive and financial report shall be filed with the Committee. Any proposed travel by committee staff for a subcommittee purpose must be approved by the subcommittee Chairman and Ranking Minority Member prior to submission of the request to the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the full Committee.

(b) *Travel by personal staff.*—A member of the personal staff of a member of the Committee may travel with that member with the approval of the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee. During such travel, the personal staff member shall be considered to be an employee of the Committee.

(c) *Foreign travel by Committee staff.*—When the Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member approve the foreign travel of a member of the staff of the Committee not accompanying a member of the Committee, all members of the Committee shall be advised, prior to the commencement of such travel, of its extent, nature, and purpose. The report referred to in the first paragraph of this section shall be furnished to all members of the Committee and shall not be otherwise disseminated without the express authorization of the Committee.

(d) *Staff travel in U.S.*—All official travel in the United States by the Committee staff shall be approved in advance by the Staff Director, or in the case of minority staff, by the Minority Staff Director.

### RULE 5—TRANSCRIPTS

(a) *General.*—The Committee on Foreign Relations shall keep verbatim transcripts of all Committee and subcommittee meetings and such transcripts shall remain in the custody of the Committee, unless a majority of the Committee decides otherwise. Transcripts of public hearings by the Committee shall be published unless the Chairman, with the concurrence of the Ranking Minority Member, determines otherwise.

(b) *Maintenance and security of classified transcripts:*

(1) The Chief Clerk of the Committee shall have responsibility for the maintenance and security of the classified transcripts.

(2) A record shall be maintained of each use of the classified transcripts.

(3) Classified transcripts shall be kept in locked combination safes in the Committee offices except when in active use by authorized persons. They must never be left unattended and shall be returned to the Chief Clerk promptly when no longer needed.

(4) Transcripts classified secret or higher may not leave the Committee offices except for the purpose of declassification.

(5) Classified transcripts other than those classified secret or higher may leave the Committee offices in the possession of authorized persons with the approval of the Chairman. Delivery and return shall be made only by authorized persons. Such transcripts may not leave Washington, D.C. unless adequate assurances for their security are made to the Chairman.

(6) Extreme care shall be exercised to avoid taking notes or quotes from classified transcripts. Their contents may not be divulged to any unauthorized person.

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(c) *Use of classified transcripts. The following persons are authorized to use classified transcripts:*

(1) Members and staff of the Committee in the Committee rooms.

(2) Senators not members of the Committee, by permission of the Chairman, and designated personal representatives of members of the Committee with appropriate security clearances in the Committee's Capitol office, with the permission of the Chairman.

(3) Members of the executive departments involved in the meeting, in the department's offices, or, in the Committee's Capitol office, by permission of the Chairman.

(d) *Declassification of executive transcripts and other executive records:*

(1) Any executive transcript or classified Committee report, or portion thereof, may be declassified by the Committee less than 12 years after the date on which such transcript or record was made if—

(A) the Committee by majority vote approves; and

(B) each member of the Committee who participated in any meeting at which such transcript was made, approves of such declassification, except that the Committee may by majority vote declassify such transcript in the absence of such approval.

(2) Any such transcript, classified Committee report, or portion thereof, shall be declassified on a date 12 years thereafter unless the Committee by majority vote disapproves.

### RULE 6—REGULATION FOR THE UES OF CLASSIFIED MATERIAL (OTHER THAN TRANSCRIPTS)

*Receipt and distribution of classified material.—*

(a) All classified material received or originated by the Committee shall be logged in at the Committee's offices in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, and except for material classified as "Top Secret" shall be filed in the Dirksen Senate Building offices for Committee use and safekeeping.

(b) Each such piece of classified material received or originated shall be card indexed and serially numbered, and where requiring onward distribution shall be distributed by means of an attached indexed form approved by the Chairman. If such material is to be distributed outside the Committee offices, it shall, in addition to the attached form, be accompanied also by an approved signature sheet to show onward receipt.

(c) Distribution of classified material among offices shall be by Committee members or authorized staff only. All classified material sent to members' offices, and that distributed within the working offices of the Committee, shall be returned to Room 4229, Dirksen Senate Office Building. No classified material is to be removed from the offices of the members or of the Committee without permission of the Chairman. Such classified material will be afforded safe handling and safe storage at all times.

(d) Material classified "Top Secret," after being indexed and numbered, shall be sent to the Committee's Capitol office for use by the members and authorized staff in that office only or in such other secure Committee offices as may be authorized by the Chairman or Staff Director.

(e) The Staff Director is authorized to make such administrative regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of these regulations.

### RULE 7—STAFF REGULATIONS

*The following provisions shall apply concerning the staff:*

(a) The staff works for the Committee as a whole, under the general supervision of the Chairman of the Committee, and the immediate direction of the Staff Director; provided, however, that such part of the staff as is designated Minority Staff, shall be under the general supervision of the Ranking Minority Member and under the immediate direction of the Minority Staff Director.

(b) Any member of the Committee should feel free to call upon the staff at any time for assistance in connection with Committee business. Members of the Senate not members of the Committee who call upon the staff for assistance from time to time should be given assistance subject to the overriding responsibility of the staff to the Committee.

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(c) The staff's primary responsibility is with respect to bills, resolutions, treaties, and nominations.

(d) The staff and the Committee also have a responsibility under section 136 of the Legislative Reorganization Act which provides that ". . . each standing Committee . . . shall review and study, on a continuing basis, the application, administration, and execution of those laws or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee." The staff also has a responsibility to the Committee for carrying out the mandate of Senate Rule XXV which provides that, in addition to specific areas of jurisdiction, the Committee ". . . shall also study and review, on a comprehensive basis, matters relating to the national security policy, foreign policy, and international economic policy as it relates to foreign policy of the United States, and matters relating to food, hunger, and nutrition in foreign countries, and report thereon from time to time."

In the case of foreign relations, there is an additional responsibility deriving from the advice and consent clause of the Constitution. By the same token there are limitations deriving from the President's special constitutional position in regard to foreign relations.

(e)(1) In addition to carrying out assignments from the Committee and its individual members, the staff has a responsibility to originate suggestions for Committee or subcommittee consideration. The staff also has a responsibility to make suggestions to individual members regarding matters of special interest to such members.

(2) It is part of the staff's duty to keep itself as well informed as possible in regard to developments affecting foreign relations and in regard to the administration of foreign programs of the United States. Significant trends or developments which might otherwise escape notice should be called to the attention of the Committee, or of individual Senators with particular interests.

(f) In carrying out the responsibilities in subsection (e), the staff shall bear in mind the workload of Senators and not deal in trivial but limit itself to broad questions of basic policy or specific matters which point up a quesion of basic policy.

(g) The staff shall pay due regard to the constitutional separation of powers between the Senate and the executive branch. It therefore has a responsibility to help the Committee bring to bear an independent, objective judgment of proposals by the executive branch and when appropriate to originate sound proposals of its own. At the same time, the staff shall avoid impinging upon the day-today conduct of foreign affairs.

(h) In those instances when Committee action requires the expression of minority views, the staff shall assist the minority as fully as the majority to the end that all points of view may be fully considered by members of the Committee and of the Senate. The staff shall bear in mind that under our constitutional system it is the responsibility of the elected Members of the Senate to determine legislative issues in the light of as full and fair a presentation of the facts as the staff may be able to obtain.

(i) The staff shall regard its relationship to the Committee as a privileged one, in the nature of the relationship of a lawyer to a client. In order to protect this relationship and the mutual confidence which must prevail if the Committee-staff relationship is to be a satisfactory and fruitful one, the following criteria shall apply:

> (1) Members of the staff shall not be identified with any special interest group in the field of foreign relations or allow their names to be used by any such group.
>
> (2) Members of the staff shall not accept public speaking engagements or write for publication in the field of foreign relations without specific advance permission from the Staff Director, or, in the case of minority staff, from the Minority Staff Director. In the case of the Staff Director and the Minority Staff Director, such advance permission shall be obtained from the Chairman or the Ranking Minority Member, as appropriate. In any event, such public statements should avoid the expression of personal views and should not contain predictions of future, or interpretations of past, Committee action.
>
> (3) The staff shall under no circumstances discuss with anyone the proceedings of the Committee in executive session or conversations with individual Senators without specific advance permission from the Committee or the Senator concerned.

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RULE 8—PROVISIONS OF LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION ACT AND SENATE RULES

**In addition to the foregoing, the Committee on Foreign Relations is governed by the Standing Rules of the Senate and the rules and procedures set forth in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended.**

RULE 9—AMENDMENTS

**These Rules may be modified, amended, or repealed by a majority of the Committee, provided that a notice in writing of the proposed change has been given to each Member at least 48 hours prior to the meeting at which action thereon is to be taken.**

These rules speak for themselves. It should be noted that attendance of members at committee meetings is voluntary and not compulsory.

*Meetings and hearings*

The regular weekly meeting of the committee is on Tuesday morning at 11:00. However, at the call of the chairman, meetings can be held at other times. During consideration of important and complex measures, it is not unusual for the committee to meet daily, both mornings and afternoons, the Senate permitting. Under normal circumstances, it is a routine courtesy to give standing committees permission to meet while the Senate is in session. Thus, for example, the committee and its subcommittees were able to meet in the neighborhood of 330 times during the 93rd Congress and 315 times in the 96th Congress. In 1980, the committee also held 25 informal off-the-record briefings by officials of the executive branch on current developments in foreign affairs matters.

Meetings and agenda are initiated by the chairman and ranking minority member with the advice of members. Members have the right to suggest meetings on particular subjects and that certain bills and resolutions be placed on the agenda or scheduled for hearings.

In accordance with Senate rules (S. Res. 9, adopted November 7, 1975), all meetings are open to the public, except when the committee, by majority vote, decides otherwise. Because of the sensitive nature of certain of the information required by the committee, some hearings are voted to be closed to the public. Briefings by the Secretary of State on negotiations in process or of current U.S. policy on various issues, for example, often fall into that category.

Hearings are held by the committee whenever warranted by the measure being considered and usually whenever the committee has received requests from persons wishing to testify on the item in question. It is the practice of the committee to hear all American citizens asking to be heard with respect to legislation. Foreign nationals with special expertise are heard occasionally in oversight hearings. The committee does not hear officials of foreign governments or international organizations. It is also the practice of the committee on legislative matters not to invite non-Government witnesses to testify or to pay their expenses. Only in rare cases has the committee deviated from this practice, as during the nuclear test ban treaty hearings in 1963, the Vietnam supplemental authorization in 1966, and more recently, a fishery treaty and the SALT II treaty. Witnesses appearing under subpena, as during hearings on the Foreign Agents Registration Act and in the course of hearings by the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee, are always reimbursed. In the case of hearings conducted in the exercise of legislative oversight, such as the hearings on mainland China and on NATO in 1966, U.S. responsibilities in world affairs and on national commitments in 1967, the nature of revolutions in 1968, strategic and foreign policy implications of ABM systems in 1969, U.S. relations with Communist countries in 1974, détente in 1974, the United Nations in 1975 and 1976, and a number of others, it has become usual for the committee to invite expert witnesses at the committee's expense.

If there are numerous witnesses to be heard on a particular bill or treaty, the committee may limit the oral presentation of witnesses to 10 minutes. Government witnesses are not, as a rule, so limited. At other times the committee may adopt a 10-minute rule for questioning witnesses by its own members so as to give every Senator an equal chance at examining a witness. On certain occasions, the committee has also set a time limit on the period during which requests to be heard will be accepted by the committee. Written statements, such as those submitted by witnesses limited in their oral presentation or by those unable to attend on a particular day, are printed in the hearing records, if of reasonable length and if received within a reasonable period after the hearings. All major hearings and many others are printed by the committee. However, it has become the practice of the committee, for reasons of economy, not to print all hearings, especially on nominations. In many cases, brief hearings or principal witness statements are printed in the appendix to the committee's report on the measure under consideration; in all cases, the typed transcript of public proceedings is available to the public to read in the committee offices.

Measures which seem to raise no controversial questions and in which there is little or no public interest are frequently considered by the committee at its regular Tuesday meeting. Sometimes a Government witness may be present to make an explanatory statement, which is then printed in the committee's report. The transcripts of these markup sessions are usually not printed but are also available for review.

Beginning in the fall of 1973, the committee started a pioneering project of publishing its hitherto classified executive sessions dating from the 80th Congress in 1947, when, pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, verbatim records of committee meetings were ordered to be kept. This so-called historical series has become a continuing activity, complementing the Department of State's collection of diplomatic papers in the Foreign Relations of the United States series with a record of congressional action and views.

## SUBCOMMITTEES

It is the tradition of the Committee on Foreign Relations to consider legislation, resolutions, treaties, and nominations in the full committee on the theory that most questions of foreign relations are not divisible by geographic or substantive matter. A major exception was made in 1975 with the creation of the Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance, which was given jurisdiction over all legislation on foreign aid and international financial institutions. In recent years, the committee has returned to the practice of considering all legislation, treaties, and nominations on the full committee level.

Standing, temporary, or ad hoc, and oversight subcommittees have been utilized by the committee at various times. Subcommittees are appointed by majority vote of the committee, unless otherwise authorized by law or Senate resolution.

### *Standing subcommittees*

From 1950 to 1975, the Committee on Foreign Relations maintained a series of consultative subcommittees, corresponding to the organization of the Department of State to a greater or lesser degree at various times.

The consultative subcommittee system was designed to foster more extensive consultations between the members of the Foreign Relations Committee and officers of the Department of State and to undertake independent studies in areas of special committee interest. Since World War II the U.S. role in the world thrust new and important responsibilities upon the Congress. Moreover, the problems which confront the United States in various parts of the world increased tremendously in number and complexity. This meant that a degree of specialization in the work of the Committee on Foreign Relations became desirable. By organizing along subcommittee lines it was possible for the members to keep abreast of the more important developments within each of the geographic and substantive areas of concern in the conduct of foreign policy.

While the word "consultative" has been dropped from the subcommittee system, the role of the subcommittees in developing specialized information has continued much the same.

During the 97th Congress, the subcommittee structure is the following:

*Western Hemisphere Affairs**.—Senators Helms (*chairman*), Hayakawa, Lugar, Kassebaum, Zorinsky, Tsongas, and Dodd.

The geographic scope of this subcommittee extends from the Arctic Ocean to Tierra del Fuego, including the Caribbean.

Problems which are of concern to the subcommittee include relations between the American nations, U.S.-Canadian affairs, boundary matters, the implementation of various treaties and conventions, economic relations and security matters affecting the Western Hemisphere, and the Organization of American States.

*East Asian and Pacific Affairs**.—Senators Hayakawa (*chairman*), Baker, Helms, Boschwitz, Glenn, Tsongas, and Cranston.

The geographic scope of the subcommittee extends from China and Korea to Burma, inclusive, on the mainland of Asia, Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand, Oceania, and the South Pacific Islands.

On trusteeship matters it has common interests with the Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations and Environment.

*European Affairs**.—Senators Lugar (*chairman*), Mathias, Boschwitz, Pressler, Biden, Sarbanes, and Zorinsky.

The subcommittee deals with matters concerning the continent of Europe including the Soviet Union, Greece, and Turkey. Matters relating to the United Kingdom, Greenland, Iceland, and the north polar region are also the responsibilities of this subcommittee.

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*Senator Percy and Senator Pell are ex officio members of all subcommittees.

*International Economy Policy**.—Senators Mathias (*chairman*), Percy, Lugar, Kassebaum, Dodd, Biden, and Sarbanes.

The subcommittee's responsibilities relate directly to U.S. foreign economic policy and encompass these primary areas:

(1) international monetary policy, including U.S. participation in the International Monetary Fund and other international economic organizations;

(2) international trade policy, including international energy policy, raw material supply policy and economic relations with Communist countries;

(3) U.S. policies, programs, and participation in international institutions and organizations concerned with economic growth and development, or the transfer of economic resources, directly or indirectly, to less developed countries; and

(4) international investment, management and technological transfer and general commercial policies to include the overseas operations of U.S. business firms.

*African Affairs**.—Senators Kassebaum (*chairman*), Helms, Hayakawa, Mathias, Tsongas, Glenn, and Dodd.

This subcommittee has geographic responsibilities corresponding to those of the Bureau of African Affairs in the Department of State.

The subcommittee considers all matters and problems relating to all of Africa, with the exception of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Morocco, which are under the purview of the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

*Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs**.—Senators Boschwitz, (*chairman*), Baker, Helms, Pressler, Sarbanes, Glenn, and Cranston.

The geographic area of concern to the subcommittee extends from Bhutan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka across North Africa to Morocco and Algeria. It embraces also the Arab States and Israel.

The subcommittee deals with the problems of South Asia; the Middle East; the relationships between Israel and the Arab States; and problems of economic development and general security in the Middle East, South Asia, the Persian Gulf, and the Mediterranean.

*Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations and Environment**.—Senators Pressler (*chairman*), Percy, Baker, Cranston, and Zorinsky.

The subcommittee deals with general matters pertaining to the control and reduction of armaments; international aspects of nuclear energy, including nuclear transfer policy; suspension of nuclear tests; nonproliferation; and security agreements and military bases abroad. It also has oversight responsibility for U.S. security assistance programs, foreign military sales matters, and arms transfer policies in general.

The subcommittee is also concerned with matters involving the use, development, and exploitation of oceans, space and the international environment, as well as international marine affairs generally, including the Antarctic and Arctic areas.

In addition, it has oversight responsibility for the Department of State, the International Communication Agency, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the diplomatic service, international education and cultural affairs, foreign broadcasting activities, foreign buildings, and U.S. participation in the United Nations (other than foreign assistance activities), and other international organizations not under the jurisdiction of other subcommittees.

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*Senator Percy and Senator Pell are ex officio members of all subcommittees.

The subcommittee also has jurisdiction over general matters of international law and refugee matters when these transcend an individual region.

Two points should be noted about the subcommittees. They are listed in the order of seniority, within the Foreign Relations Committee, of the subcommittee chairmen. In the recent past the practice was to follow preferences of committee members with respect to subcommittee assignments which resulted in varied sizes and differing ratios between majority and minority members. However, beginning in the 95th Congress, ratios were set and minority members assumed different "ranking" positions on each subcommittee.

Activities of the subcommittees vary depending on several factors. During the 96th Congress a wide range of problem areas and issues were given in-depth examination, as for instance—

Law of the Sea Conference, arms control implications, Foreign Service Act, nonproliferation and nuclear arms control matters, by the Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations and Environment Subcommittee;

Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa, Somalia and the Horn of Africa by the African Affairs Subcommittee;

The Middle East, with particular reference to Morocco, Yemen, Egypt and U.S. military facilities in the Near East, by the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

Taiwan, China refugee and relief issues in Southeast Asia, security implications and U.S. policy in East Asia, by the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Oversight of international economic issues and monetary matters, by the International Economic Policy Subcommittee.

Except for the practice noted above, that legislation is considered by full committee, there is no rule as to whether a matter is considered by the full committee or a subcommittee.

*Study or oversight subcommittees*

On occasion, when the Committee on Foreign Relations decided on a major oversight undertaking, requiring more staff and funds than available under its ordinary budget, the committee has sought special authority and funds for the conduct of such studies. The first such study authorized by the Senate after passage of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 was a study of overseas information programs of the United States in 1952 (S. Res. 74, 82d Cong.) which ended in 1954. This study set the pattern for most of the subsequent studies during the 1950's, namely, studies of the United Nations Charter (S. Res. 126, 1953), of the technical assistance program (S. Res. 214, 1954), of disarmament issues (S. Res. 93, 1955), of foreign assistance programs (S. Res. 285, 1956), and U.S. foreign policy (S. Res. 336, 1958). A subcommittee was appointed to conduct the study or oversight

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and included noncommittee members as well as committee members. The procedure generally was to collect and publish relevant documents; problem areas were explored in staff studies; questionnaires were sent to groups having special knowledge of the subject matter (American businessmen and reporters overseas, ambassadors, or retired Foreign Service Officers); on the spot surveys were made overseas; hearings were held on the accumulated data; and a final report was submitted to the Senate, giving the subcommittee's recommendations and conclusions.

More recent exercises of this sort have been to study nondiplomatic activities of representatives of foreign governments in the United States, U.S. security agreements and commitments abroad, multinational corporations, and foreign assistance. It is worth noting that in several instances standing subcommittees have continued the functions of the special oversight or study subcommittees after the latter ceased to exist. It is also worth noting a greater reliance on independent staff surveys abroad in connection with the latter undertakings of this nature.

It has become the practice in recent years to authorize such activities by a single funding resolution for inquiries and investigations covering both full committee and subcommittee activities rather than separately authorizing each subcommittee activity. An example of such annual authorizing resolution appears on p. 37.

Since all of the above study and oversight activity has at its heart a legislative purpose, a great many laws and amendments to laws have resulted from it.

### *Ad hoc subcommittees*

These for many years were the only kind of subcommittees appointed by the Committee on Foreign Relations. They were normally authorized to consider only one item or a related group of items, such as a series of double taxation conventions or broadcasting agreements. As the committee began more and more to consider treaties and legislation as a whole, the appointment of ad hoc subcommittees decreased. No such subcommittees were appointed between 1959, when one was set up to consider certain broadcasting agreements, and 1965, when three ad hoc subcommittees were appointed to handle certain international organization matters, claims legislation, and double tax conventions. In 1967 four additional ad hoc subcommittees were set up to consider customs and maritime matters, human rights conventions, deployment of U.S. troops in Europe, and a Foreign Service Information corps. Since then, similar subcommittees have gone into passport matters, the International Grain Arrangement, the Genocide Convention, and the International Wheat Agreement, 1971.

Ad hoc subcommittees cease to exist the moment the matters referred to them are disposed of or upon adjournment of Congress.

## STAFF

The following provisions of the amended Standing Rules of the Senate are applicable to the committee staff.

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## RULE XXVII

### COMMITTEE STAFF

1. Staff members appointed to assist minority members of committees pursuant to authority of a resolution described in paragraph 9 of rule XXVI or other Senate resolution shall be accorded equitable treatment with respect to the fixing of salary rates, the assignment of facilities, and the accessibility of committee records.[1]

2. The minority shall receive fair consideration in the appointment of staff personnel pursuant to authority of a resolution described in paragraph 9 of rule XXVI.

3. The staffs of committees (including personnel appointed pursuant to authority of a resolution described in paragraph 9 of rule XXVI or other Senate resolution) should reflect the relative number of majority and minority members of committees. A majority of the minority members of any committee may, by resolution, request that at least one-third of all funds of the committee for personnel (other than those funds determined by the chairman and ranking minority member to be allocated for the administrative and clerical functions of the committee as a whole) to be allocated to the minority members of such committee for compensation of minority staff as the minority members may decide. The committee shall thereafter adjust its budget to comply with such resolution. Such adjustment shall be equitably made over a four-year period, commencing July 1, 1977, with not less than one-half being made in two years. Upon request by a majority of the minority members of any committee by resolution, proportionate space, equipment, and facilities shall be provided for such minority staff.

4. No committee shall appoint to its staff any experts or other personnel detailed or assigned from any department or agency of the Government, except with the written permission of the Committee on Rules and Administration.

As of March 1, 1981, the committee's annual budget resolution includes funding for the exercise of its legislative oversight and for all staffing. The resolution for the 1st session of the 97th Congress is set forth on page 37. Prior to 1981, staff funding was included in the budget and also in separate resolutions. For example, in 1958 the position of an interparliamentary assistant was authorized as visits of foreign dignitaries to Washington increased and as the Congress became more involved in interparliamentary activities. This position was made permanent in 1962.

The size of the staff has increased over the years. At the beginning of the 80th Congress, when the committee began to organize its independent professional staff, it employed 4 persons; as of May 1981, 59 persons, professional and clerical, were employed full time on a permanent basis.

As a rule, the staff is assigned to the full committee, and subcommittees are not separately staffed. Members of the full committee staff have the responsibility for taking care of the needs of subcommittees.

In accordance with the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, members of the full committee staff were occasionally assigned to work primarily for the minority, but were also available for general committee assignments. However, in January 1979 the minority members of the committee elected to establish a minority staff as stipulated in Rule XXVII.2. Since then formal coordination of relations between the majority and minority staffs has been accomplished through the two staff directors, and various members of the staff performing administrative and clerical functions for the com-

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[1] See p. 37 for paragraph 9 of rule XXVI.

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mittee have been considered as "nondesignated." It should be noted that prior to the hiring of a minority staff in 1979, the committee had appointed a bipartisan personnel subcommittee in early 1958 which made recommendations to the full committee and filled professional staff vacancies as they developed. This subcommittee consisted of the two ranking majority and minority members.

In the case of long-term special oversight studies, however, it has been occasionally necessary to augment the regular committee staff with specialists for a limited period of time. Thus, as of June 30, 1976, an additional 9 persons were working on the study of multinational corporations and their effect on U.S. foreign policy. For shorter periods, consultants have been hired by the committee, as in 1979 for consideration of the SALT II treaty and in 1981 for the nomination of Alexander M. Haig, Jr. to be Secretary of State.

In the fall of 1974, the committee began to automate access to its rapidly accumulating data. This project at the start involved as many as 13 persons, and although the committee continues to automate its records the size of the computer staff has been considerably reduced.

S. Res. 60 of the 94th Congress (June 12, 1975) authorized the hiring of additional persons by committee members on their personal staff to assist them on committee matters. This resolution was superseded by the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1978, which contains provisions for the hiring of Personal Representatives of Members as follows:

### PUBLIC LAW 95-94 [EXCERPT]

AN ACT Making appropriations for the Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1978, and for other purposes

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the following sums are appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1978, and for other purposes, namely:

* * * * * * *

SEC. 111. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), the aggregate of the gross compensation which may be paid to employees in the office of a Senator during each fiscal year under section 105(d) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified (2 U.S.C. 61-1(d)), is increased by an amount equal to three times the amount referred to in section 105(e)(1) of such Act, as amended and modified.

(b)(1) In the case of a Senator who is the chairman or ranking minority member of any committee, or of any subcommittee that receives funding to employ staff assistance separately from the funding authority for staff of the full committee, the amount referred to in subsection (a) shall be reduced by the amount referred to in section 105(e)(1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified, for each such committee or subcommittee.

(2) In the case of a Senator who is authorized by a committee, a subcommittee thereof, or the chairman of a committee or subcommittee, as appropriate, to recommend or approve the appointment to the staff of such committee or subcommittee of one or more individuals for the purpose of assisting such Senator solely and directly in his duties as a member of such committee or subcommittee, the amount referred to in subsection (a) shall be reduced, for each such committee or subcommittee, by the amount equal to (A) the aggregate annual gross rates of compensation of all staff employees of that committee or subcommittee (i) whose appointment is made, approved, or recommended and (ii) whose continued employment is not disapproved by such Senator, if such employees are employed for the purpose of assisting such Senator solely and directly

in his duties as a member of such committee or subcommittee thereof as the case may be, or (B) the amount referred to in section 105(e)(1) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified, whichever is less.

(3) In the case of a Senator who is serving on more than three committees, one of the committees on which he is serving, as selected by him, shall not be taken into account for purposes of paragraphs (1) and (2). Any such Senator shall notify the Secretary of the Senate of the committee selected by him under this paragraph.

(c)(1) A Senator may designate employees in his office to assist him in connection with his membership on committees of the Senate. An employee may be designated with respect to only one committee.

(2) An employee designated by a Senator under this subsection shall be certified by him to the chairman and ranking minority member of the committee with respect to which such designation is made. Such employee shall be accorded all privileges of a professional staff member (whether permanent or investigatory) of such committee including access to all committee sessions and files, except that any such committee may restrict access to its sessions to one staff member per Senator at a time and require, if classified material is being handled or discussed, that any staff member possess the appropriate security clearance before being allowed access to such material or to discussion of it. Nothing contained in this paragraph shall be construed to prohibit a committee from adopting policies and practices with respect to the application of this subsection which are similar to the policies and practices adopted with respect to the application of section 705(c)(1) of the Senate Resolution 4, 95th Congress, and section 106(c)(1) of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1977.

(3) A Senator shall notify the chairman and ranking minority member of a committee whenever a designation of an employee under this subsection with respect to such committee is terminated.

(d) The second sentence of section 105(d)(2) of the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act, 1968, as amended and modified, is amended—

(1) by inserting after "(i)" the following: "the salaries of three employees may be fixed at rates of not more than the rate referred to in subsection (e)(1), (ii)"; and

(2) by striking out "(ii)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(iii)".

The amendments made by this subsection shall have no effect on section 6(c) of the Order of the President pro tempore issued on October 8, 1976, under section 4 of the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970.

(e)(1) Section 106 of the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1977 (other than subsection (f) thereof) is repealed.

(2) As an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate, section 705 of Senate Resolution 4, 95th Congress (other than subsection (h) thereof) is repealed.

(f) This section, and the amendments made by subsection (d) and the repeals made by subsection (e), shall take effect on October 1, 1977.

In accordance with a provision of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act of 1965, the name, title, and total salary of each staff member is reported semiannually in the report of the Secretary of the Senate which is printed as a Senate document.

## FINANCES

In accordance with Rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate:

1. Each standing committee, including any subcommittee of any such committee, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to take such testimony and to make such expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate as may be authorized by resolutions of the Senate. Each such committee may make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction, may report such hearings as may be had by it, and may employ stenographic assistance at a cost not ex-

ceeding the amount prescribed by the Committee on Rules and Administration. The expenses of the committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

Rule XXVI 9. requires that each committee report an annual resolution authorizing the committee to make expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate to defray its expenses, including the compensation of members of its staff and agency contribution (i.e., retirement, life and health insurances) related to such compensation during a budget period beginning on March 1 of each year and ending on the last day of February of the following year.

Rule XXVI 9. reads as follows:

9. Each committee shall report one authorization resolution each year authorizing the committee to make expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate to defray its expenses, including the compensation of members of its staff and agency contributions related to such compensation, during the period beginning on March 1 of such year and ending on the last day of February of the following year. Such annual authorization resolution shall be reported not later than January 31 of each year, except that, whenever the designation of members of standing committees of the Senate occurs during the first session of a Congress at a date later than January 20, such resolution may be reported at any time within thirty days after the date on which the designation of such members is completed. After the annual authorization resolution of a committee for a year has been agreed to, such committee may procure authorization to make additional expenditures out of the contingent fund of the Senate during that year only by reporting a supplemental authorization resolution. Each supplemental authorization resolution reported by a committee shall amend the annual authorization resolution of such committee for that year and shall be accompanied by a report specifying with particularity the purpose for which such authorization is sought and the reason why such authorization could not have been sought at the time of the submission by such committee of its annual authorization resolution for that year.

The following is the text of the Senate Resolution which provides the total amount authorized to be spent by the Foreign Relations Committee in fiscal year 1981 to support its activities:

[S. Res. 39, 97th Congress, 1st session]

RESOLUTION Authorizing additional expenditures by the Committee on Foreign Relations for inquiries and investigations

*Resolved*, That, in holding hearings, reporting such hearings, making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, the Committee on Foreign Relations is authorized from March 1, 1981, through February 28, 1982, in its discretion (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate, (2) to employ personnel, and (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

SEC. 2. The expenses of the committee under this resolution shall not exceed $2,333,100, of which amount not to exceed $18,000 may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended).

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 28, 1982.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee, except that vouchers shall not be required for the disbursement of salaries of employees paid at an annual rate.

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The Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which supervises payments from the contingent fund of the Senate, compiles an account of committee expenditures, routine and under the resolutions authorizing inquiries and investigations every other year.

The latest compilation follows:

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### *Total Statutory and Investigative Funds*

| Congress | Years | Total—statutory funds and increments thereto | Total—investigative funds | Grand total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 83d | 1953–1954 | $59,000 | $167,950 | $226,950 |
| 84th | 1955–1956 | 30,000 | 186,000 | 216,000 |
| 85th | 1957–1958 | 40,000 | 589,000 | 629,000 |
| 86th | 1959–1960 | 20,000 | 685,000 | 705,000 |
| 87th | 1961–1962 | 10,000 | 370,000 | 380,000 |
| 88th | 1963–1964 | 10,000 | 341,600 | 351,600 |
| 89th | 1965–1966 | 10,000 | 335,000 | 345,000 |
| 90th | 1967–1968 | 10,000 | 450,000 | 460,000 |
| 91st | 1969–1970 | 10,000 | 560,000 | 570,000 |
| 92d | 1971–1972 | 10,000 | 925,000 | 935,000 |
| 93d | 1973–1974 | 10,000 | 1,526,800 | 1,536,800 |
| 94th | 1975–1976 | 10,000 | 2,233,300 | 2,243,300 |
| 95th | 1977–1978 | 10,000 | 2,569,100 | 2,579,100 |
| 96th | 1979–1980 | 40,000 | 3,246,300 | 3,286,300 |
| 97th | 1981– | 10,000 | 2,333,100 | 2,343,100 |

This table does not show unexpended funds returned to the Treasury at the end of the Congress, which have at times been substantial. Nor does it include the salaries of staff members employed under permanent authorization of the Legislative Reorganization Act, amended, S. Res. 30 (1959) and S. Res. 247 (1962).

# APPENDIXES

## Appendix I

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

| Name | State | Term of Service |
|---|---|---|
| Aiken, George | Vermont | 1954–1975 |
| Aldrich, Nelson W | Rhode Island | 1881 |
| Allen, William | Ohio | 1839–1841, 1845–1846 |
| Archer, William S | Virginia | 1842–1847 |
| Atchison, David R | Virginia | 1850 |
| Atherton, Charles G | New Hampshire | 1845–1847 |
| Austin, Warren R | Vermont | 1943–1946 |
| Bachman, Nathan L | Tennessee | 1933–1937 |
| Bacon, Augustus O | Georgia | 1899–1914 |
| Bailey, Joseph W | Texas | 1901–1903 |
| Baker, Howard H., Jr.[1] | Tennessee | 1975, 1977– |
| Barbour, James | Virginia | 1816–1825 |
| Barkley, Alben W | Kentucky | 1938–1949, 1955–1956 |
| Bayard, Thomas F | Delaware | 1927–1929 |
| Bell, Samuel | New Hampshire | 1826–1833 |
| Benton, Thomas H | Missouri | 1847–1850 |
| Berrien, John McPherson | Georgia | 1828–1829, 1841–1845 |
| Beveridge, Albert J | Indiana | 1905–1911 |
| Bibb, George M | Kentucky | 1832–1833 |
| Biden, Joseph R., Jr.[1] | Delaware | 1975– |
| Black, Hugo L | Alabama | 1929–1937 |
| Bogy, Lewis V | Missouri | 1875–1879 |
| Borah, William E | Idaho | 1911–1940 |
| Boschwitz, Rudy [1] | Minnesota | 1981– |
| Brandegee, Frank B | Connecticut | 1915–1924 |
| Breckinridge, John C | Kentucky | 1861–1863 |
| Brewster, Owen | Maine | 1951–1953 |
| Bridges, Styles | New Hampshire | 1945–1947 |
| Brown, Bedford | North Carolina | 1839–1841 |
| Brown, James | Louisiana | 1819–1823 |
| Brown, Joseph E | Georgia | 1883–1891 |
| Browning, Orville H | Illinois | 1861–1863 |
| Buchanan, James | Pennsylvania | 1836–1845 |
| Buckalew, Charles R | Pennsylvania | 1865–1867 |
| Bulkley, Robert J | Ohio | 1933–1936 |
| Burnside, Ambrose | Rhode Island | 1881–1883 |
| Burton, Theodore E | Ohio | 1911–1915 |
| Butler, Mathew C | South Carolina | 1891–1895 |
| Butler, William M | Massachusetts | 1925 |
| Byrnes, James F | South Carolina | 1941 |
| Calhoun, John C | South Carolina | 1840–1841 |
| Call, Wilkinson | Florida | 1881 |
| Cameron, J. Donald | Pennsylvania | 1895–1897 |
| Cameron, Simon | Pennsylvania | 1867–1879 |
| Capehart, Homer E | Indiana | 1954–1963 |
| Capper, Arthur | Kansas | 1925–1949 |
| Carlson, Frank | Kansas | 1959–1969 |
| Carpenter, Mathew | Wisconsin | 1879–1881 |
| Carter, Thomas H | Montana | 1907–1911 |
| Case, Clifford P | New Jersey | 1965–1979 |
| Cass, Lewis | Michigan | 1845–1851 |
| Casserly, Eugene | California | 1869–1873 |
| Chambers, Ezekiel F | Maryland | 1826–1827 |
| Chavez, Dennis | New Mexico | 1935–1935 |
| Choate, Rufus | Massachusetts | 1841–1841 |
| Church, Frank | Idaho | 1959–1981 |
| Clark, Bennett Champ | Missouri | 1939–1949 |
| Clark, Clarence | Wyoming | 1897–1917 |
| Clark, Dick | Iowa | 1975–1978 |
| Clark, Joseph S | Pennsylvania | 1965–1965 |
| Clark, William A | Montana | 1903–1901 |

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[1] Serving at the time of publication.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—Continued

| Name | State | Term of Service |
|---|---|---|
| Clarke, James P | Arkansas | 1911–1916 |
| Clarke, John H | Rhode Island | 1851–1858 |
| Clay, Henry | Kentucky | 1834–1841 |
| Clayton, John M | Delaware | 1853–1857 |
| Collamer, Jacob | Vermont | 1861–1863 |
| Conkling, Roscoe | New York | 1873–1881 |
| Connally, Tom | Texas | 1931–1953 |
| Cooper, John Sherman | Kentucky | 1967–1973 |
| Cranston, Alan[1] | California | 1981– |
| Crittenden, John J | Kentucky | 1857–1859 |
| Cullom, Shelby M | Illinois | 1895–1913 |
| Cutting, Bronson | New Mexico | 1931–1935 |
| Dagget, David | Connecticut | 1818–1819 |
| Dana, Samuel W | Connecticut | 1816–1817 |
| Daniel, John W | Virginia | 1893–1903 |
| Davis, Cushman K | Minnesota | 1891–1901 |
| Davis, Garrett | Kentucky | 1862–1867 |
| Davis, James J | Pennsylvania | 1942–1945 |
| Dillingham, William P | Vermont | 1912–1913 |
| Dodd, Christopher J.[1] | Connecticut | 1981– |
| Dodd, Thomas J | Connecticut | 1961–1971 |
| Dodge, Henry | Wisconsin | 1850–1853 |
| Dolph, Joseph N | Oregon | 1887–1895 |
| Doolittle, James R | Wisconsin | 1861–1869 |
| Douglas, Stephen A | Illinois | 1850–1863 |
| Duffy, F. Ryan | Wisconsin | 1933–1938 |
| Eaton, William W | Connecticut | 1875–1881 |
| Edge, Walter F | New Jersey | 1924–1929 |
| Edmunds, George F | Vermont | 1881–1891 |
| Elliot, John | Georgia | 1821–1825 |
| Eustice, James B | Louisiana | 1889–1891 |
| Evarts, William M | New York | 1885–1891 |
| Everett, Edward | Massachusetts | 1853–1855 |
| Fairbanks, Charles W | Indiana | 1901–1905 |
| Fall, Albert B | New Mexico | 1917–1923 |
| Ferguson, Homer | Michigan | 1953–1955 |
| Ferris, Woodbridge N | Michigan | 1927–1928 |
| Ferry, Thomas W | Michigan | 1881–1883 |
| Fess, Simeon D | Ohio | 1928–1934 |
| Fessenden, William P | Maine | 1867–1869 |
| Fish, Hamilton | New York | 1855–1857 |
| Fogg, George G | New Hampshire | 1866–1867 |
| Foot, Solomon | Vermont | 1857–1861, 1865–1867 |
| Foote, Henry S | Mississippi | 1849–1853 |
| Foraker, Joseph B | Ohio | 1897–1909 |
| Forsyth, John | Georgia | 1832–1835 |
| Foster, Lafayette S | Connecticut | 1862–1865 |
| Fowler, Joseph S | Tennessee | 1966 |
| Frazier, James B | Tennessee | 1907–1911 |
| Frelinghuysen, F. T | New Jersey | 1873–1877 |
| Frye, William P | Maine | 1885–1911 |
| Fulbright, J. W | Arkansas | 1949–1975 |
| Gaillard, John | South Carolina | 1825–1826 |
| George, Walter F | Georgia | 1928–1957 |
| Gillett, Fred H | Massachusetts | 1926–1931 |
| Gillette, Guy M | Iowa | 1939–1945, 1951–1953 |
| Glass, Carter | Virginia | 1941–1946 |
| Glenn, John[1] | Ohio | 1977– |
| Glenn, Otis | Illinios | 1931–1933 |
| Goff, Guy D | West Virginia | 1929–1931 |
| Gore, Albert | Tennessee | 1959–1971 |
| Gray, George | Delaware | 1891–1899 |
| Green, Theodore F | Rhode Island | 1937–1947, 1949–1959 |
| Griffin Robert P | Michigan | 1973–1979 |
| Griffey, Joseph F | Pennsylvania | 1939–1947 |
| Gurney, Chan | South Dakota | 1945–1947 |
| Hamlin, Hannibal | Maine | 1871–1881 |
| Hannegan, Edward A | Indiana | 1847–1849 |
| Harding, Warren G | Ohio | 1919 |
| Harlan, James | Iowa | 1867–1873 |
| Harris, Ira | New York | 1861–1867 |
| Harrison, Benjamin | Indiana | 1886–1887 |
| Harrison, Pat | Mississippi | 1925–1941 |
| Hatch, Carl A | New Mexico | 1945–1949 |
| Havakawa S. I.[1] | California | 1979– |
| Helms, Jesse[1] | North Carolina | 1979– |
| Henderson, John B | Missouri | 1865–1867 |
| Hickenlooper, Bourke B | Iowa | 1947–1963 |
| Hicks, Thomas H | Maryland | 1863–1867 |

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[1] Serving at the time of publication.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—Continued

| Name | State | Term of Service |
|---|---|---|
| Hill, Benjamin | Georgia | 1879–1883 |
| Hill, Lister | Alabama | 1945–1947 |
| Hiscock, Frank | New York | 1891–1893 |
| Hitchcock, Gilbert M | Nebraska | 1911–1923 |
| Howe, Timothy O | Wisconsin | 1872–1879 |
| Huger Daniel | South Carolina | 1845–1847 |
| Humphrey, Herbert H | Minnesota | 1953–1965, 1973–1978 |
| Humphrey, Muriel | Minnesota | 1978 |
| Hunter, Robert M. T | Virginia | 1850–1851 |
| Hunter, William | Rhode Island | 1819–1821 |
| Jackson, Andrew | Tennessee | 1823–1825 |
| Javits, Jacob K | New York | 1969–1981 |
| Johnson, Andrew | Tennessee | 1875–1877 |
| Johnson, Hiram | California | 1919–1945 |
| Johnson, Reverdy | Maryland | 1863–1869 |
| Johnston, John W | Virginia | 1877–1883 |
| Kassebaum, Nancy L[1] | Kansas | 1981– |
| Kean, John | New Jersey | 1901–1911 |
| Kellogg, Frank B | Minnesota | 1921–1923 |
| Kenna, John E | West Virginia | 1891–1893 |
| Kennedy, John F | Massachusetts | 1957–1960 |
| King, John P | Georgia | 1834–1839 |
| King, Rufus | New York | 1816–1823 |
| King, William R | Alabama | 1829–1833, 1847–1850 |
| Kirkwood,Samuel J | Iowa | 1877–1881 |
| Knowland, William F | California | 1953–1959 |
| Knox, Philander C | Pennsylvania | 1917–1921 |
| Lacock, Abner | Pennsylvania | 1816–1819 |
| LaFollette, Robert, Jr | Wisconisn | 1929–1947 |
| Langer, William | North Dakota | 1953–1959 |
| Lapham, Elbridge G | New York | 1881–1885 |
| Lausche, Frank J | Ohio | 1959–1969 |
| Lee, Josh | Oklahoma | 1941–1943 |
| Lenroot, Irvine L | Wisconsin | 1923–1927 |
| Lewis, J. Hamilton | Illinois | 1931–1939 |
| Lodge, Henry Cabot | Massachusetts | 1895–1924 |
| Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr | Massachusetts | 1947–1953 |
| Long, Russell B | Louisiana | 1956–1956 |
| Lucas, Scott W | Illinois | 1945–1947 |
| Lugar, Richard G[1] | Indiana | 1979– |
| Macon, Nathaniel | North Carolina | 1816–1829 |
| Mangum, Willie P | North Carolina | 1832–1837, 1847–1853 |
| Mansfield, Mike | Montana | 1953–1977 |
| Mason, James M | Virginia | 1848–1861 |
| Mathias, Charles McC. Jr.[1] | Maryland | 1981– |
| Matthews, Stanley | Ohio | 1877–1879 |
| McCarthy, Eugene J | Minnesota | 1965–1969 |
| McCormick, Medill | Illinois | 1921–1925 |
| McCreary, James B | Kentucky | 1903–1909 |
| McCreery, Thomas C | Kentucky | 1873–1879 |
| McCumber, Porter J | North Dakota | 1911–1923 |
| McDougall, James A | California | 1863–1865 |
| McDuffie, George | South Carolina | 1846–1847 |
| McGee, Gale W | Wyoming | 1966–1967, 1969–1977 |
| McGovern, George | South Dakota | 1973–1981 |
| McLean, George P | Connecticut | 1924–1929 |
| McMahon, Brien | Connecticut | 1949–1952 |
| Miller, John F | California | 1881–1886 |
| Mills, Elijah | Massachusetts | 1823–1827 |
| Mills, Roger Q | Texas | 1895–1899 |
| Money, Hernando | Mississippi | 1899–1911 |
| Morehead, James T | Kentucky | 1843–1845, 1899 |
| Morgan, John T | Alabama | 1879–1907 |
| Morse, Wayne | Oregon | 1955–1969 |
| Morton, Oliver P | Indiana | 1867–1879 |
| Moses, George H | New Hampshire | 1919–1933 |
| Mundt, Karl E | South Dakota | 1963–1972 |
| Murray, James E | Montana | 1936–1947 |
| Muskie, Edmund S | Maine | 1971–1975, 1979–1980 |
| New, Harry S | Indiana | 1919–1923 |
| Niles, John M | Connecticut | 1838–1839 |
| Norris, Moses | New Hampshire | 1851–1855 |
| Nye, Gerald P | North Dakota | 1940–1945 |
| O'Gorman, James A | New York | 1913–1917 |
| Oliver, George T | Pennsylvania | 1915–1917 |
| Owen, Robert L | Oklahoma | 1923–1925 |
| Patterson, James W | New Hampshire | 1867–1873 |
| Payne, Henry B | Ohio | 1885–1891 |
| Pearson, James B | Kansas | 1971–1979 |
| Pell, Claiborne[1] | Rhode Island | 1965– |

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[1] Serving at the time of publication.

## ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—Continued

| Name | State | Term of Service |
|---|---|---|
| Pendleton, George H | Ohio | 1879–1885 |
| Pepper, Claude | Florida | 1937–1947, 1949–1951 |
| Pepper, George Wharton | Pennsylvania | 1923–1927 |
| Percy, Charles H.[1] | Illinois | 1972– |
| Phelps, Samuel S | Vermont | 1850–1851 |
| Pittman, Key | Nevada | 1916–1940 |
| Polk, Trusten | Missouri | 1857–1862 |
| Pomerene, Atlee | Ohio | 1913–1923 |
| Pope, James P | Idaho | 1933–1938 |
| Porter, Alexander | Louisiana | 1835–1837 |
| Pratt, Thomas G | Maryland | 1856–1857 |
| Pressler, Larry [1] | South Dakota | 1981– |
| Preston, William G | South Carolina | 1841–1843 |
| Rawlias, Joseph L | Utah | 1901–1905 |
| Rayner, Isidor | Maryland | 1911–1912 |
| Reed, David A | Pennsylvania | 1927–1934 |
| Reed, James A | Missouri | 1925–1929 |
| Reynolds, Robert R | North Carolina | 1939–1945 |
| Rives, William C | Virginia | 1833–1839, 1841–1943 |
| Roane, William H | Virginia | 1839–1841 |
| Robinson, Arthur R | Indiana | 1930–1934 |
| Robinson, Joseph T | Arkansas | 1918–1919, 1923–1937 |
| Root, Elihu | New York | 1909–1915 |
| Sanford, Nathan | New York | 1826–1831 |
| Sarbanes, Paul S.[1] | Maryland | 1977– |
| Saulsbury, Eli | Delaware | 1885–1889 |
| Saulsbury, Willard | Delaware | 1914–1919 |
| Schurtz, Carl | Missouri | 1869–1875 |
| Schwellenbach, Lewis B | Washington | 1937–1941 |
| Scott, Hugh | Pennsylvania | 1971–1977 |
| Sevier, Ambrose H | Arkansas | 1845–1848 |
| Seward, William H | New York | 1857–1861 |
| Sherman, John | Ohio | 1883–1897 |
| Shields, John K | Tennessee | 1916–1925 |
| Shipstead, Henrik | Minnesota | 1923–1947 |
| Shively, Benjamin F | Indiana | 1909–1916 |
| Sidell, John | Louisiana | 1853–1861 |
| Smathers, George A | Florida | 1963–1965 |
| Smith, H. Alexander | New Jersey | 1947–1959 |
| Smith, Marcus A | Arizona | 1913–1921 |
| Smith, William A | Michigan | 1909–1919 |
| Sparkman, John | Alabama | 1951–1979 |
| Spong, William B., Jr | Virginia | 1971–1973 |
| Spooner, John C | Wisconsin | 1901–1907 |
| Sprague, Peleg | Maine | 1833–1835 |
| Stockton, John P | New Jersey | 1873–1875 |
| Stone, Richard (Dick) | Florida | 1977–1980 |
| Stone, William J | Missouri | 1908–1918 |
| Sumner, Charles | Massachusetts | 1859–1871 |
| Sutherland, George | Utah | 1911–1917 |
| Swanson, Claude A | Virginia | 1913–1931 |
| Symington, Stuart | Missouri | 1961–1976 |
| Taft, Robert A | Ohio | 1953– |
| Tallmadge, Nathaniel P | New York | 1834–1839, 1841–1845 |
| Tazewell, Littleton W | Virginia | 1825–1833 |
| Thomas, Charles S | Colorado | 1917–1919 |
| Thomas, Elbert D | Utah | 1933–1951 |
| Tobev, Charles W | New Hampshire | 1951–1953 |
| Tomlinson, Gideon | Connecticut | 1832–1833 |
| Troup, George M | Georgia | 1817–1819 |
| Tsongas, Paul E [1] | Massachusetts | 1980– |
| Tunnell, James M | Delaware | 1941–1947 |
| Turpie, David | Indiana | 1893–1899 |
| Tydings, Millard E | Maryland | 1949–1951 |
| Underwood, Joseph R | Kentucky | 1851–1853 |
| Underwood, Oscar W | Alabama | 1923–1927 |
| Van Nuys, Frederick | Indiana | 1933–1943 |
| Vance, Zebulon B | North Carolina | 1883–1885 |
| Vandenburg, Arthur H | Michigan | 1929–1951 |
| Wade, Benjamin F | Ohio | 1865–1867 |
| Wadsworth, James W. Jr | New York | 1921–1925 |
| Wagner, Robert F | New York | 1929–1949 |
| Walker, Freeman | Georgia | 1819–1821 |
| Wallace, William A | Pennsylvania | 1877–1879 |
| Walsh, Thomas J | Montana | 1923–1933 |
| Webster, Daniel | Massachusetts | 1846–1850 |
| Weller, John B | California | 1853–1857 |
| White, Hugh Lawson | Tennessee | 1825–1833 |
| White, Wallace H | Maine | 1935–1949 |
| Whyte, William Pinkney | Maryland | 1907–1908 |

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[1] Serving at the time of publication.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—Continued

| Name | State | Term of Service |
|---|---|---|
| Wiley, Alexander | Wisconsin | 1945–1963 |
| Wilkins, William | Pennsylvania | 1833–1835 |
| Williams, John J | Delaware | 1960–1971 |
| Williams, John Sharp | Mississippi | 1913–1923 |
| Willis, Frank B | Ohio | 1923–1982 |
| Wilmot, David | Pennsylvania | 1861–1863 |
| Wilson, James F | Iowa | 1883–1885 |
| Windon, William | Minnesota | 1881–1883 |
| Wolcott, Edward O | Colorado | 1899–1901 |
| Wright, Joseph A | Indiana | 1862–1863 |
| Zorinsky, Edward [1] | Nebraska | 1977, 1979– |

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[1] Serving at the time of publication.

# APPENDIX II

## COMPOSITION OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE BY CONGRESS[1]

### 14th CONGRESS, 1816–1817

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*2d Session*

**James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem. and States Rights)**
**Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)**
**Rufus King, New York (Fed.)**
**Samuel W. Dana, Connecticut (Fed.)**
**Abner Lacock, Pennsylvania (Dem.)**

### 15th CONGRESS, 1817–1819

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*1st Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
George M. Troup, Georgia (Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
Abner Lacock, Pennsylvania (Dem.)

*2d Session*

Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, Chairman (Dem.)
James Barbour, Virginia (Anti-Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
Abner Lacock, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
David Daggett, Connecticut (Fed.)

### 16th CONGRESS, 1819–1821

COMMITTEE (5 members)

*1st Session*

James Brown, Louisiana, Chairman
William Hunter, Rhode Island (Fed.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
James Barbour, Virginia (Anti-Dem.)
Freeman Walker, Georgia (Dem.)

*2d Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
James Brown, Louisiana
William Hunter, Rhode Island (Fed.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)

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[1] The data for the 14th through the 77th Congress is taken from Eleanor Dennison (see bibliography) whose introductory statement is as follows:

"The party designations given are unavoidably subject to error in the early period, owing to the vagueness of party lines and the shifting of men from one party to another on critical issues at that time. The information as to party affiliation here included is from the *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774–1927*, and the various *Congressional Directories*. For the 28th to the 33d and the 35th and 36th Congresses the designations are those given in the *Congressional Globe*. Where a designation in the latter has differed from that in the *Biographical Dictionary*, preference has been given to the *Congressional Globe*. Other authorities employed are the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1928–36, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1888–1918*, and the National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1893–1939."

## 17th CONGRESS, 1821–1823

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *1st Session*

Rufus King, New York, Chairman (Fed.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
James Brown, Louisiana
James Barbour, Virginia (Anti-Dem.)
John Elliott, Georgia

### *2d Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)
James Brown, Louisiana
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
John Elliott, Georgia

## 18th CONGRESS, 1823–1825

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *1st Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
Excused December 16, 1823.
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
Andrew Jackson, Tennessee (Dem.)
John Elliott, Georgia
Elijah Mills, Massachusetts (Fed.)
Appointed December 16, 1823.

### *2d Session*

James Barbour, Virginia, Chairman (Anti-Dem.)
Andrew Jackson, Tennessee (Dem.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
John Elliott, Georgia
Elijah Mills, Massachusetts (Fed.)

## 19th CONGRESS, 1825–1827

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *Special Session*

No committee appointed.

### *1st Session*

Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina Chairman (Dem.)
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (Dem.)
John Gaillard, South Carolina (Dem.)
Died February 26, 1826.
Elijah Mills, Massachusetts (Fed.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)
Appointed March 1, 1826.

### *2d Session*

Nathan Sanford, New York, Chairman (Dem.)
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (Dem.)
Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (Dem.)
Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Rep.)
Ezekiel F. Chambers, Maryland (Whig)

## 20th CONGRESS, 1827–1829

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *1st Session*

Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina, Chairman (Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)
Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (Dem.)
Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

**Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)**
**Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)**
**Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)**
John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Dem.)
Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)

## 21st CONGRESS, 1829–1831

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

#### *1st Session*

Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)
Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Nathan Sanford, New York (Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)
Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)
William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)

## 22d CONGRESS, 1831–1833

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

#### *1st Session*

Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Hugh Lawson White, Tennessee (Dem.)
William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)
John Forsyth, Georgia (Dem.)
Samuel Bell, New Hampshire (Jeffersonian Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

John Forsyth, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)
Rufus King, New York (Fed.)
George M. Bibb, Kentucky
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Dem.)
Gideon Tomlinson, Connecticut (Dem.)

## 23d CONGRESS, 1833–1835

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

#### *1st Session*

William Wilkins, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)
Resigned February 22, 1834.
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
Appointed May 12, 1834.
John Forsyth, Georgia (Dem.)
Peleg Sprague, Maine (National Rep.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)

#### *2d Session*

Henry Clay, Kentucky, Chairman (Whig)
John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum,[2] North Carolina, (Whig)
Peleg Sprague, Maine (National Rep.)
Resigned January 1, 1835.
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
Alexander Porter, Louisiana (Whig)
Appointed January 7, 1835.

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[2] Although Mangum supported Jackson at first, he subsequently broke with the administration. He refused to follow instructions from the North Carolina Legislature, and later resigned. Because of his opposition to Jackson in 1834 he is listed in the 23d and 24th Congresses as a Whig.

## 24th CONGRESS, 1835–1837

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

#### *1st Session*

Henry Clay, Kentucky, Chairman (Whig)
John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Alexander Porter, Louisiana (Whig)

#### *2d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)

## 25th CONGRESS, 1837–1839

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

#### *Special Session*

No committee appointed.

#### *1st Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
John P. King, Georgia (Dem.)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)
William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)

#### *3d Session*

James Buchanan, Pénnsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Dem.)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
William C. Rives, Virginia (Dem.)
John M. Niles, Connecticut (Dem.)

## 26th CONGRESS, 1839–1841

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

#### *1st Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
Bedford Brown, North Carolina (Dem.)
William H. Roane, Virginia (Dem.)
William Allen, Ohio (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Dem.)
Henry Clay, Kentucky (Whig)
John C. Calhoun, South Carolina (Dem.)
William H. Roane, Virginia (Dem.)
William Allen, Ohio (Dem.)

## 27th CONGRESS, 1841–1843

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

*Special Session*

No committee appointed.

*1st Session*

William C. Rives,[3] Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
William C. Preston, South Carolina (Calhoun nullifier)
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge,[4] New York (Whig)
Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

*2d Session*

William C. Rives, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
William C. Preston, South Carolina (Calhoun nullifier)
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Whig)
Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

*3d Session*

William S. Archer, Virginia, Chairman (Whig)
John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Whig)
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Whig)
Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

## 28th CONGRESS, 1843–1845

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

*1st Session*

William S. Archer, Virginia, Chairman (Whig)
John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Whig)
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
N. P. Tallmadge, New York (Whig)
Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

*2d Session*

William S. Archer, Virginia, Chairman (Whig)
John McPherson Berrien, Georgia (Whig)
James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
James T. Morehead, Kentucky (Whig)
Rufus Choate, Massachusetts (Whig)

## 29th CONGRESS, 1845–1847

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

*Special Session*

William Allen, Ohio, Chairman (Dem.)
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)
William S. Archer, Virginia (Whig)
Charles G. Atherton, New Hampshire (Dem.)
Daniel E. Huger,[5] South Carolina (State Rights Dem.)

*1st Session*

William Allen, Ohio, Chairman (Dem.)
Excused June 15, 1846.
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)
William S. Archer, Virginia (Whig)
Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas (Dem.)
Charles G. Atherton, New Hampshire (Dem.)
George McDuffie, South Carolina, Chairman (Dem.)
Elected June 18, 1846.

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[3] Rives had supported Harrison for the Presidency, and the *Congressional Biographical Directory* states that he was elected as a Whig in 1841; but the *Congressional Globe*, 27th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1, lists him as a Democrat.

[4] Listed as a Whig in the *Congressional Globe, loc. cit.* This change is not mentioned in the *Congressional Biographical Directory*.

[5] The *Biographical Dictionary* of the American Congress (*H. Doc.* 783, 69th Cong., 2d sess., p. 1126) states that Huger resigned March 3, 1845; but the *Senate Journal* for the 28th Cong., 2d sess., credits him with the Special Session.

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### *2d Session*

Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)
William S. Archer, Virginia (Whig)
Charles G. Atherton, New Hampshire (Dem.)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)

## 30th CONGRESS, 1847–1849

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *1st Session*

Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
Resigned March 14, 1848.
Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (Dem.)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Edward A. Hannegan, Indiana (Dem.)
Elected Chairman, March 14, 1848, to succeed Sevier.
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
James M. Mason, Virginia (Dem.)
Appointed March 14, 1848.

### *2d Session*

Edward A. Hannegan, Indiana, Chairman (Dem.)
Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (Dem.)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
William R. King, Alabama (Dem.)

## 31st CONGRESS, 1849–1851

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *Special Session*

Thomas H. Benton, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)
Lewis Cass, Michigan (Dem.)
Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (Dem.)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)

### *1st Session*

William R. King, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)
Excused July 26, 1850.
Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (Dem.)
Succeeded King as Chairman, July 26, 1850.
Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (Dem.)
Excused April 2, 1850.
David R. Atchison, Missouri (Dem.)
Appointed April 4, 1850; resigned July 26, 1850.
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Daniel Webster, Massachusetts (Whig)
Resigned July 22, 1850.
Robert M. T. Hunter, Virginia (Dem.)
Samuel S. Phelps, Vermont (Whig)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Hunter, Phelps, and Douglas were all appointed July 26, 1850.

### *2d Session*

Henry S. Foote, Mississippi, Chairman (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Samuel S. Phelps, Vermont (Whig)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Excused December 19, 1850.
James M. Mason, Virginia (Dem.)
Henry Dodge, Wisconsin (Dem.)
Appointed December 19, 1850.

## 32d CONGRESS, 1851–1853

### COMMITTEE (5 members)

### *Special Session*

Henry S. Foote, Mississippi, Chairman (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Henry Dodge, Wisconsin (Dem.)
James M. Mason, Virginia (Dem.)
John H. Clarke, Rhode Island (Whig)

### *1st Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Moses Norris, New Hampshire (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Joseph R. Underwood, Kentucky (Whig)

#### *2d Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Moses Norris, New Hampshire (Dem.)
Willie P. Mangum, North Carolina (Whig)
Joseph R. Underwood, Kentucky (Whig)

## 33d CONGRESS, 1853–1855

### COMMITTEE (5–6–5 members)

#### *Special Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
John M. Clayton, Delaware (Whig)
Moses Norris, New Hampshire (Dem.)
Edward Everett, Massachusetts (Whig)

#### *1st Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)
John M. Clayton, Delaware (Whig)
John B. Weller, California (Union Dem.)
Edward Everett, Massachusetts (Whig)

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.[6]

## 34th CONGRESS, 1855–1857

### COMMITTEE (6 members)

#### *1st Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Expelled February 20 and restored February 26, 1856.
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)
John M. Clayton, Delaware (Whig)
John B. Weller, California (Union Dem.)
Hamilton Fish, New York (Whig)

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

#### *3d Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)
John B. Weller, California (Union Dem.)
Hamilton Fish, New York (Whig)
Thomas G. Pratt, Maryland (Whig)

## 35th CONGRESS (1857–1859)

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

#### *Special Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)
Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
John J. Crittenden,[7] Kentucky (Whig)
William H. Seward, New York (Rep.)
Solomon Foot, Vermont (Rep.)

#### *1st Session*

Same committee reappointed.

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[6] Committee reduced to 5 after motion to continue same committee as first session. There is no record of who was dropped; but presumably it was Everett, as he is at the bottom of the list.

[7] Listed as "Native American" in *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1.

### *2d Special Session*

Same committee reappointed.

### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

## 36th CONGRESS, 1859–1861

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

### *Special Session*

James M. Mason, Virginia, Chairman (Dem.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
John Slidell, Louisiana (State Rights Dem.)
Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
John J. Crittenden, Kentucky (Whig)
William H. Seward, New York, (Rep.)
Solomon Foot, Vermont (Rep.)

### *1st Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that Charles Sumner, Massachusetts (Rep.), replaced Solomon Foot.

### *2d Special Session*

Same committee reappointed.

### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

## 37th CONGRESS, 1861–1863

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

### *Special Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Jacob Collamer, Vermont (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois (Dem.)
Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky (Dem.)

### *1st Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Jacob Collamer, Vermont (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
David Wilmot, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Orville H. Browning, Illinois (Rep.)
Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky (Dem.)

### *2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Jacob Collamer, Vermont (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
David Wilmot, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Orville H. Browning, Illinois (Rep.)
Trusten Polk, Missouri (Dem.)
Expelled January 10, 1862.
Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Old-line Whig)
Appointed January 10, 1862.
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)

### *3d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
David Wilmot, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Orville H. Browning, Illinois (Rep.)
Retired February 2, 1863.
John B. Henderson, Missouri (Dem.)
Appointed February 2, 1863.
Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Old-line Whig)
Joseph A. Wright, Indiana (Dem.)
Withdrew January 23, 1863.
Thomas H. Hicks, Maryland (Dem.)
Appointed January 23, 1863.

## 38th CONGRESS, 1863–1865

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

#### *Special Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Whig)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
James A. Bayard, Delaware (Dem.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep).

#### *1st Session*

Same committee appointed, except that James A. McDougall, California (Dem.), replaced Bayard.

#### *2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Lafayette S. Foster, Connecticut (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Whig)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
James A. McDougall, California (Dem.)

## 39th CONGRESS, 1865–1867

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

#### *Special Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Solomon T. Foot, Vermont (Rep.)
Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio (Rep.)
Garrett Davis, Kentucky (Whig)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)

#### *1st Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
John B. Henderson, Missouri (Dem.)
Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio (Rep.)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
Charles R. Buckalew, Pennsylvania (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Ira Harris, New York (Rep.)
Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio (Rep.)
Joseph S. Fowler, Tennessee (Union Rep.)
George G. Fogg, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
James R. Doolittle, Wisconsin (Dem.)

## 40th CONGRESS, 1867–1869

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

#### *1st Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
William Pitt Fessenden, Maine (Rep.)
Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)

#### *Special Session*

Same commtitee reappointed.

#### *2d Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
William Pitt Fessenden, Maine (Rep.)
Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Reverdy Johnson, Maryland (Dem.)
Resigned July 10, 1868.
James R. Doolitle, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Appointed July 15, 1868.

#### *3d Session*

Same committee reappointed except that James A. Bayard, Delaware (Dem.), replaced Doolittle.

## 41st CONGRESS, 1869–1871

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

#### *1st Session*

Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
William Pitt Fessenden, Maine (Rep.)
Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Eugene Casserly, California (Dem.)

#### *Special Session*

Same committee reappointed.

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that Carl Schurz, Missouri (Rep.), replaced Fessenden.

#### *3d Session*

Same committee reappointed as in 2d Session.

## 42d CONGRESS, 1871–1873

### COMMITTEE (7 members)

#### *1st Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Rep.)
James Harlan, Iowa (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
James W. Patterson, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Carl Schurz, Missouri (Rep.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)
Eugene Casserly, California (Dem.)

#### *Special Session*

Same committee reappointed.

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.), replaced Casserly.

## 43d CONGRESS, 1873–1875

### COMMITTEE (7–9 members)

*Special Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Union Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Rep.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)
Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (Rep.)
Roscoe Conklin, New York (Union Rep.)
Carl Schurz, Missouri (Rep.)

*1st Session*

Committee enlarged to 9. Same committee reappointed and the following added:

John P. Stockton, New Jersey (Dem.)
Thomas Clay McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

## 44th CONGRESS, 1875–1877

### COMMITTEE (9 members)

*Special Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union (Rep.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)
F. T. Frelinghuysen, New Jersey (Rep.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Union Rep.)
Thomas C. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
Lewis V. Bogy, Missouri (Dem.)
Andrew Johnson, Tennessee (Dem.)

*1st Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that William W. Eaton, Connecticut (Dem.), replaced Johnson.

*2d Session*

Same committee reappointed as 1st Session.

## 45th CONGRESS, 1877–1879

### COMMITTEE (9 members)

*Special Session*

Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania, Chairman (Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Union Rep.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)
Thomas C. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
Lewis V. Bogy, Missouri (Dem.)
William W. Eaton, Connecticut (Dem.)
John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)

*1st Session*

Hannibal Hamlin, Maine, Chairman (Union Rep.)
Oliver P. Morton, Indiana (Union Rep.)
Timothy O. Howe, Wisconsin (Union Rep.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)
Stanley Matthews, Ohio (Rep.)
Thomas C. McCreary, Kentucky Dem.)
William W. Eaton, Connecticut (Dem.)
John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)
William A. Wallace, Pennsylvania (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa (Rep.), replaced Morton.

#### *3d Session*

Same committee reappointed as 2d Session.

## 46th CONGRESS, 1879–1881

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Dem., 4 Rep.)

#### *1st Session*

William W. Eaton, Connecticut, Chairman (Dem.)
John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)
John Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Benjamin H. Hill, Georgia (Dem.)
George H. Pendleton, Ohio (Dem.)
Hannibal Hamlin, Maine (Rep.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)
Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa (Rep.)
Matthew H. Carpenter, Wisconsin (Rep.)

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

#### *3d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

## 47th CONGRESS, 1881–1883

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

#### *1st Special Session*

Ambrose E. Burnside, Rhode Island, Chairman (Rep.)
Roscoe Conkling, New York (Rep.)
Resigned May 17, 1881.
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)
John F. Miller, California (Rep.)
Thomas W. Ferry, Michigan (Rep.)
John W. Johnston, Virginia (Dem.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Benjamin H. Hill, Georgia (Dem.)
George W. Pendleton, Ohio (Dem.)

#### *2d Special Session*

Same committee with the following exceptions:

George F. Edmunds, Vermont, became Chairman
Nelson W. Aldrich, Rhode Island (Rep.)
Appointed for Burnside, October 17, 1881.
Elbridge G. Lapham, New York (Rep.)
Appointed for Conkling, October 17, 1881.

#### *1st Session*

Same committee reappointed except that William Windon, Minnesota (Rep.), replaced Aldrich on December 16, 1881, and was made Chairman in place of Edmunds on day of appointment.

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed, except that Wilkinson Call, Florida (Dem.), replaced Hill.

## 48th CONGRESS, 1883–1885

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

#### *1st Session*

John F. Miller, California, Chairman (Rep.)
John Sherman, Ohio (Rep.)
Elbridge G. Lapham, New York (Rep.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)
James F. Wilson, Iowa (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George W. Pendleton, Ohio (Dem.)
Zebulon B. Vance, North Carolina (Dem.)
Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)

#### *2d Session*

Same committee reappointed.

## 49th CONGRESS, 1885–1887

### COMMITTEE[6] (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John F. Miller, California, Chairman (Rep.)
Died March 8, 1886.
Benjamin Harrison, Indiana (Rep.)
Appointed April 5, 1886.
John Sherman, Ohio (Rep.)
Made Chairman, April 5, 1886.
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
William M. Evarts, New York (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
Eli Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
Henry B. Payne, Ohio (Dem.)

## 50th CONGRESS, 1887–1889

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
William M. Evarts, New York (Rep).
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
Eli Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
Henry B. Payne, Ohio (Dem.)

## 51st CONGRESS, 1889–1891

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)
George F. Edmunds, Vermont (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
William M. Evarts, New York (Rep.)
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Joseph E. Brown, Georgia (Dem.)
Henry B. Payne, Ohio (Dem.)
James B. Eustis, Louisiana (Dem.)

## 52d CONGRESS, 1891–1893

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)
Frank Hiscock, New York (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Mathew C. Butler, South Carolina (Dem.)
John E. Kenna, West Virginia (Dem.)
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)

## 53d CONGRESS, 1893–1895

### COMMITTEE (9 members—5 Dem., 4 Rep.)

John T. Morgan, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)
Mathew C. Butler, South Carolina (Dem.)
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
John Sherman, Ohio (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Joseph N. Dolph, Oregon (Rep.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)

## 54th CONGRESS, 1895–1897

### COMMITTEE (11 members—6 Rep. 5 Dem.)

John Sherman, Ohio, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)
J. Donald Cameron, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Roger Q. Mills, Texas (Dem.)

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[6] Beginning with the 49th Congress, committee appointments were made for the duration of the Congress instead of by sessions.

## 55th CONGRESS, 1897–1899

### Committee (9 members—4 Reps., 5 Dem.)

*Special Session (and half of 1st)* [9]

William P. Frye, Maine, Acting Chairman (Rep.)
Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Roger Q. Mills, Texas (Dem.)

### Committee (11 members—6 Rep., 5 Dem.—appointed May 10, 1897)

Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
George Gray, Delaware (Dem.)
David Turpie, Indiana (Dem.)
Excused last day of the Congress.
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Appointed last day of the Congress.
John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Roger Q. Mills, Texas (Dem.)
Excused last day of the Congress.
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Appointed last day of the Congress.

## 56th CONGRESS, 1899–1901

### Committee (11 members—7 Rep., 4 Dem.)

Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
Edward O. Wolcott, Colorado (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)

## 57th CONGRESS, 1901–1903

### Committee[10] (9 members—5 Rep., 4 Dem.)

*Special Session*

William P. Frye, Maine, Acting Chairman (Rep.)
Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
John W. Daniel, Virginia (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)

### Committee (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Joseph L. Rawlins, Utah (Dem.)
Joseph W. Bailey, Texas (Dem.)
Resigned March 3, 1903.
William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
Appointed March 3, 1903.

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[9] By resolution of March 3, 1897, the committees of the 54th Congress were continued until the first Monday in December or until new committees should be appointed. The number did not remain the same because the Senate terms of some had expired. Committees of the 55th Congress were appointed May 10, 1897.

[10] Committees of the 56th Congress were continued by resolution of March 2, 1901. Committees of the 57th Congress were appointed December 18, 1901.

## 58th CONGRESS, 1903–1905

### COMMITTEE[11] (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

*Special Session (and half of 1st)*

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
Joseph L. Rawlins, Utah (Dem.)
William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)

### COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Charles W. Fairbanks, Indiana (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

## 59th CONGRESS, 1905–1907

### COMMITTEE[12] (12 members—7 Rep., 5 Dem.)

*Special Session*

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

### COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John C. Spooner, Wisconsin (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana (Rep.)
John T. Morgan, Alabama (Dem.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
William A. Clark, Montana (Dem.)
James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)

## 60th CONGRESS, 1907–1909

### COMMITTEE (13 members—8 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
Joseph B. Foraker, Ohio (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana (Rep.)
Thomas H. Carter, Montana (Rep.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
James B. McCreary, Kentucky (Dem.)
James B. Frazier, Tennessee (Dem.)
William Pinckney Whyte, Maryland (Dem.)
Died March 17, 1908.
William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
Appointed April 23, 1908.

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[11] Committees of the 57th Congress were continued by resolution of March 3, 1903. Committees of the 58th Congress were appointed November 25, 1903.

[12] Committees of the 58th Congress continued by resolution, February 27, 1905. Committees of the 59th Congress appointed December 18, 1905.

## 61st CONGRESS, 1909–1911

### COMMITTEE (14 members—9 Rep., 5 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Clarence D. Clark, Wyoming (Rep.)
John Kean, New Jersey (Rep.)
Albert J. Beveridge, Indiana (Rep.)
Thomas H. Carter, Montana (Rep.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Elihu Root, New York (Rep.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
Hernando Money, Mississippi (Dem.)
James B. Frazier, Tennessee (Dem.)
William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)

## 62d CONGRESS, 1911–1913

### COMMITTEE (15 members—9 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
William P. Frye, Maine (Rep.)
Died August 8, 1911.
William P. Dillingham, Vermont (Rep.)
Appointed January 9, 1912.
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Elihu Root, New York (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
George Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Theodore E. Burton, Ohio (Rep.)
Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (Dem.)
William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)
James P. Clarke, Arkansas (Dem.)
Isidor Rayner, Maryland (Dem.)
Died November 25, 1912.
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
James A. O'Gorman, New York (Dem.)
Appointed January 4, 1913.

## 63d CONGRESS, 1913–1915

### COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)
Died February 14, 1914.
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
Appointed March 10, 1914.
William J. Stone, Missouri (Dem.)
Made Chairman March 2, 1914.
Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)
James P. Clarke, Arkansas (Dem.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
James A. O'Gorman, New York (Dem.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Elihu Root, New York (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
George Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Theodore E. Burton, Ohio (Rep.)

## 64th CONGRESS, 1915–1917

### COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

William J. Stone, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)
Benjamin F. Shively, Indiana (Dem.)
Died March 14, 1916.
James P. Clarke, Arkansas (Dem.)
Died October 1, 1916.
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
James A. O'Gorman, New York (Dem.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
George Sutherland, Utah (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
George T. Oliver, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
Appointed March 28, 1916.
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Appointed December 12, 1916.

## 65th CONGRESS, 1917-1919

### COMMITTEE (14 members—9 Dem., 5 Rep.)

*Special Session, first half*[13]

William J. Stone, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)

### COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

William J. Stone, Missouri, Chairman (Dem.)
Died April 12, 1918.
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
Made Chairman May 10, 1918.
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Appointed May 10, 1918.
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Altee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
Willard Saulsbury, Delaware (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
Charles D. Thomas, Colorado (Dem.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (Rep.)
William Alden Smith, Michigan (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Albert B. Fall, New Mexico (Rep.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)

## 66th CONGRESS, 1919-1921

### COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Rep. 7 Dem.)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Albert B. Fall, New Mexico (Rep.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Warren G. Harding, Ohio (Rep.)
Resigned January 11, 1921; not replaced.
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Harry S. New, Indiana (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio, (Dem.)
Marcus A. Smith, Arizona (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)

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[13] Committees of the 64th Congress continued by resolution, March 1, 1917. Committees of the 65th Congress appointed March 12, 1917.

## 67th CONGRESS, 1921–1923

### COMMITTEE[14] (15 members—9 Rep., 6 Dem.)

*Special Session*

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota, (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Albert B. Fall, New Mexico (Rep.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Harry S. New, Indiana (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)

### COMMITTEE (16 members—10 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Porter J. McCumber, North Dakota (Rep.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Frank B. Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Philander C. Knox, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Died October 12, 1921.
James W. Wadsworth, Jr., New York (Rep.)
Appointed October 21, 1921.
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Harry S. New, Indiana (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Frank B. Kellogg, Minnesota (Rep.)
Medill McCormick, Illinois (Rep.)
Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Nebraska (Dem.)
John Sharp Williams, Mississippi (Dem.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Atlee Pomerene, Ohio (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)

## 68th CONGRESS, 1923–1925

### COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 7 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts, Chairman (Rep.)
Died November 9, 1924.
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)
Appointed December 3, 1924.
George P. McLean, Connecticut (Rep.)
Appointed December 3, 1924.
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Made Chairman, December 3, 1924.
Frank Brandegee, Connecticut (Rep.)
Died October 14, 1924.
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Medill McCormick, Illinois (Rep.)
James W. Wadsworth, New York (Rep.)
Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Frank B. Willis, Ohio (Rep.)
George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
John K. Shields, Tennessee (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama (Dem.)
Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Robert L. Owen, Oklahoma (Dem.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.–L.)

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[14] Committees of the 66th Congress continued by resolution, Jan. 18, 1921. Committees of the 67th Congress appointed April 18, 1921. On April 18, 1921, a clause was added to Rule XXV of the Senate Rules providing that all standing committees were to continue until their successors were appointed.

## 69th CONGRESS, 1925–1927

COMMITTEE (18 members—10 Rep., 7 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Irvine L. Lenroot, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Frank B. Willis, Ohio (Rep.)
George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
George P. McLean, Connecticut (Rep.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
William M. Butler, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Term expired November 1925.
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)
Appointed December 14, 1926.
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama (Dem.)
Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
James A. Reed, Missouri (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 70th CONGRESS, 1927–1929

COMMITTEE (18 members—9 Rep., 8 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Frank B. Willis, Ohio (Rep.)
Died March 30, 1928.
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Appointed May 10, 1928.
George P. McLean, Connecticut (Rep.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
James A. Reed, Missouri (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Woodbridge N. Ferris, Michigan (Dem.)
Died March 23, 1928.
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Appointed April 28, 1928.
Thomas F. Bayard, Delaware (Dem.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 71st CONGRESS, 1929–1931

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Rep., 6 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

*Special Session (continuing)*

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman. (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

COMMITTEE (20 members—11 Rep., 8 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor; appointed April 22, 1929)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Walter E. Edge, New Jersey (Rep.)
Resigned November 21, 1929.
Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)
Appointed January 11, 1930.
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Fred H. Gillett, Massachusetts (Rep.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Guy D. Goff, West Virginia (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Arthur Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Claude A. Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Hugo Black, Alabama (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 72d CONGRESS, 1931–1933

COMMITTEE (22 members—11 Rep., 10 Dem., 1 Farmer-Labor)

William E. Borah, Idaho, Chairman (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
George H. Moses, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)
Otis Glenn, Illinois (Rep.)
Bronson Cutting, New Mexico (Rep.)
Claude Swanson, Virginia (Dem.)
Key Pittman, Nevada (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Thomas J. Walsh, Montana (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 73d CONGRESS, 1933–1934

COMMITTEE (18 members—8 Dem., 9 Rep., 1 Farmer-Labor)

*Special Session* (*continuing*)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)
Bronson Cutting, New Mexico (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

COMMITTEE (23 members—14 Dem., 8 Rep., 1 Farmer-Labor; appointed March 9, 1933)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama, (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
Nathan L. Bachman, Tennessee (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)
F. Ryan Duffy, Wisconsin (Dem.)
James P. Pope, Idaho (Dem.)
Robert J. Bulkley, Ohio (Dem.)
Appointed June 10, 1933.
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
David A. Reed, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Simeon D. Fess, Ohio (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Rep.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Arthur R. Robinson, Indiana (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 74th CONGRESS, 1935–1936

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Prog., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
Nathan L. Bachman, Tennessee (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)
F. Ryan Duffy, Wisconsin (Dem.)
James P. Pope, Idaho (Dem.)
Robert J. Bulkley, Ohio (Dem.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Dennis Chavez, New Mexico (Dem.)
Appointed May 31, 1935.
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Bronson Cutting, New Mexico (Rep.)
Died May 6, 1935.
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Appointed May 31, 1935.
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 75th CONGRESS, 1937-1938

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Prog., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)
J. T. Robinson, Arkansas (Dem.)
Died July 14, 1937.
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Appointed November 30, 1937.
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Hugo L. Black, Alabama (Dem.)
Resigned August 20, 1937.
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Appointed February 2, 1938.
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
Nathan L. Bachman, Tennessee (Dem.)
Died April 23, 1937.
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
Appointed May 11, 1937.
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)
F. Ryan Duffy, Wisconsin (Dem.)
James P. Pope, Idaho (Dem.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Dennis Chavez, New Mexico (Dem.)
Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Washington (Dem.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 76th CONGRESS, 1939-1941

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 5 Rep., 1 Prog., 1 Farmer-Labor)

Key Pittman, Nevada, Chairman (Dem.)
Died November 11, 1940.
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Made Chairman November 25, 1940.
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
J. Hamilton Lewis, Illinois (Dem.)
Died April 9, 1939.
Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri (Dem.)
Appointed April 27, 1939.
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Lewis B. Schwellenbach, Washington (Dem.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina (Dem.)
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)
William E. Borah, Idaho (Rep.)
Died January 19, 1940.
Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota (Rep.)
Appointed February 8, 1940.
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (F.-L.)

## 77th CONGRESS, 1941-1942

COMMITTEE (23 members—16 Dem., 6 Rep., 1 Prog.)

Walter F. George, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)
Excused from Chairmanship June 30, 1941.
Pat Harrison, Mississippi (Dem.)
Died June 22, 1941.
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Thomas T. Connally, Texas (Dem.)
Made Chairman June 30, 1941.
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Frederick Van Nuys, Indiana (Dem.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Robert R. Reynolds, North Carolina (Dem.)
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)
Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri (Dem.)
Carter Glass, Virginia (Dem.)
James F. Byrnes, South Carolina (Dem.)
Resigned July 8, 1941.
Josh Lee, Oklahoma (Dem.)
Appointed June 31, 1941.
James M. Tunnell, Delaware (Dem.)
Appointed June 30, 1941.
Hiram Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (Rep.)
Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota (Rep.)

## 78th CONGRESS, 1943–1944

### Committee (23 members—14 Dem., 8 Rep., 1 Prog.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Robert R. Reynolds (North Carolina) (Dem.)
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)
Bennett Champ Clark, Missouri (Dem.)
Carter Glass, Virginia (Dem.)
James M. Tunnell, Delaware (Dem.)
Hiram W. Johnson, California (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (Rep.)
Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota (Rep.)
James J. Davis, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
Warren R. Austin, Vermont (Rep.)

## 79th CONGRESS, 1945–1946

### Committee (23 members—14 Dem., 8 Rep., 1 Prog.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
James E. Murray, Montana (Dem.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem).
Joseph F. Guffey, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Carter Glass, Virginia (Dem.)
Died May 28, 1946.
James M. Tunnell, Delaware (Dem.)
Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico (Dem.)
Lister Hill, Alabama (Dem.)
Scott W. Lucas, Illinois (Dem.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Robert La Follette, Jr., Wisconsin (Prog.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Henrik Shipstead, Minnesota (Rep.)
Warren R. Austin, Vermont (Rep.)
Resigned August 2, 1946.
Styles Bridges, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Chan Gurney, South Dakota (Rep.)

## 80th CONGRESS, 1947–1948

### Committee (13 members—7 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan, Chairman (Rep.)
Arthur Capper, Kansas (Rep.)
Wallace H. White, Jr., Maine (Rep.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts (Rep.)
Tom Connally, Texas (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Robert F. Wagner, New York (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico (Dem.)

## 81st CONGRESS, 1949–1951

### Committee (13 members—8 Dem., 5 Rep.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Elbert D. Thomas, Utah (Dem.)
Millard E. Tydings, Maryland (Dem.)
Claude Pepper, Florida (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Brien McMahon, Connecticut (Dem.)
J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts (Rep.)

### 82d CONGRESS, 1951–1952

COMMITTEE (13 members—7 Dem., 6 Rep.)

Tom Connally, Texas, Chairman (Dem.)
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Brien McMahon, Connecticut (Dem.)
Died July 28, 1952.
J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)

Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan (Rep.)
Died April 18, 1951.
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts (Rep.)
Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Owen Brewster, Maine (Rep.)
Appointed May 9, 1951.

### 83d CONGRESS, 1953–1954

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Rep., 7 Dem.)

Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin, Chairman (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire (Rep.)
Died July 24, 1953.
Robert A. Taft, Ohio (Rep.)
Died July 31, 1953.
William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
Homer Ferguson, Michigan (Rep.)
William F. Knowland, California (Rep.)

George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Appointed January 13, 1954.
Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)
Appointed January 13, 1954.
Walter F. George, Georgia (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Guy M. Gillette, Iowa (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)

### 84th CONGRESS, 1955–1956

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Dem., 7 Rep.)

Walter F. George, Georgia, Chairman (Dem.)
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky (Dem.)
Died April 30, 1956.

Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)
Appointed May 8, 1956.
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
William F. Knowland, California (Rep.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)

### 85th CONGRESS, 1957–1958

COMMITTEE (15 members—8 Dem., 7 Rep.)

Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island, Chairman (Dem.)
J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)

John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
William F. Knowland, California (Rep.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)

## 86th CONGRESS, 1959–1960

COMMITTEE (17 members—11 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
Appointed Chairman February 6, 1959.
Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Resigned chairmanship February 6, 1959.
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)
John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Resigned December 22, 1960.
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
William Langer, North Dakota (Rep.)
Died November 8, 1959.
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)
Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Appointed January 18, 1960.

## 87th CONGRESS, 1961–1962

COMMITTEE (17 members—11 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin (Rep.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Homer E. Capehart, Indiana (Rep.)
Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)

## 88th CONGRESS, 1963–1964

COMMITTEE (17 members—12 Dem., 5 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
George A. Smathers, Florida (Dem.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)

## 89th CONGRESS, 1965–1966

COMMITTEE (19 members—13 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Russell B. Long, Louisiana (Dem.)
Resigned March 25, 1966.
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
George A. Smathers, Florida (Dem.)
Resigned April 26, 1965.
Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Eugene J. McCarthy, Minnesota (Dem.)
Appointed April 26, 1965.
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
Appointed March 25, 1966.
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)

## 90th CONGRESS, 1967–1968

### COMMITTEE (19 members—12 Dem., 7 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Wayne Morse, Oregon (Dem.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Frank J. Lausche, Ohio (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Eugene J. McCarthy, Minnesota (Dem.)
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Iowa (Rep.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Frank Carlson, Kansas (Rep.)
John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky (Rep.)

## 91st CONGRESS, 1969–1971

### COMMITTEE (15 members—9 Dem., 6 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Albert Gore, Tennessee (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Thomas J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky (Rep.)
John J. Williams, Delaware (Rep.)
Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)

## 92d CONGRESS, 1971–1972

### COMMITTEE (16 members—9 Dem., 7 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
Edmund S. Muskie, Maine (Dem.)
William B. Spong, Jr., Virginia (Dem.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota (Rep.)
Resigned February 23, 1972.
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky (Rep.)
Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Appointed February 23, 1972.

## 93d CONGRESS, 1973–1974

### COMMITTEE (17 members—10 Dem., 7 Rep.)

J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, Chairman (Dem.)
John Sparkman, Alabama (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
Edmund S. Muskie, Maine (Dem.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
George D. Aiken, Vermont (Rep.)
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Robert P. Griffin, Michigan (Rep.)

## 94th CONGRESS, 1975–1976

COMMITTEE (16 members—10 Dem., 6 Rep.)

John Sparkman, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)
Mike Mansfield, Montana (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Stuart Symington, Missouri (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Gale W. McGee, Wyoming (Dem.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Dick Clark, Iowa (Dem.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania (Rep.)
James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Robert P. Griffin, Michigan (Rep.)
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.) Excused Sept. 19, 1975, when committee ratio was changed from 7 to 6 Republicans.

## 95th CONGRESS, 1977–1978

COMMITTEE (16 Members—10 Dem., 6 Rep.)

John Sparkman, Alabama, Chairman (Dem.)
Frank Church, Idaho (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)
Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Died January 13, 1978.
Dick Clark, Iowa (Dem.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)
Richard Stone, Florida (Dem.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Muriel B. Humphrey, Minnesota (Dem.)
Appointed February 6, 1978.
Clifford P. Case, New Jersey (Rep.)
Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
James B. Pearson, Kansas (Rep.)
Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Robert P. Griffin, Michigan (Rep.)
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)

## 96th CONGRESS, 1979–1980

COMMITTEE (15 Members—9 Dem., 6 Rep.)

Frank Church, Idaho, Chairman (Dem.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
George McGovern, South Dakota (Dem.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)
Richard Stone, Florida (Dem.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Edmund Muskie, Maine (Dem.)
Resigned May 7, 1980.
Edward Zorinsky, Nebraska (Dem.)
Paul E. Tsongas, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Appointed May 13, 1980.
Jacob K. Javits, New York (Rep.)
Charles H. Percy, Illinois (Rep.)
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)
Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
S. I. Hayakawa, California (Rep.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)

## 97th CONGRESS, 1981–

COMMITTEE (17 Members—9 Rep., 8 Dem.)

Charles H. Percy, Illinois, Chairman (Rep.)
Howard H. Baker, Jr., Tennessee (Rep.)
Jesse Helms, North Carolina (Rep.)
S. I. Hayakawa, California (Rep.)
Richard G. Lugar, Indiana (Rep.)
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., Maryland (Rep.)
Nancy L. Kassebaum, Kansas (Rep.)
Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota (Rep.)
Larry Pressler, South Dakota (Rep.)
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island (Dem.)
Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware (Dem.)
John Glenn, Ohio (Dem.)
Paul S. Sarbanes, Maryland (Dem.)
Edward Zorinsky, Nebraska (Dem.)
Paul E. Tsongas, Massachusetts (Dem.)
Alan Cranston, California (Dem.)
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut (Dem.)

## APPENDIX III

## CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

| Congress | Dates | Senator |
|---|---|---|
| 14th | 1816–1817 | James Barbour, Virginia. |
| 15th | 1817–1819 | James Barbour, Virginia.<br>Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina (2d session). |
| 16th | 1819–1821 | James Brown, Louisiana.<br>James Barbour, Virginia (2d session). |
| 17th | 1821–1823 | Rufus King, New York.<br>James Barbour, Virginia (2d session). |
| 18th | 1823–1825 | James Barbour, Virginia. |
| 19th | 1825–1827 | Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina.<br>Nathan Sanford, New York (2d session). |
| 20th | 1827–1829 | Nathaniel Macon, North Carolina.<br>Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia (2d session). |
| 21st | 1829–1831 | Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia. |
| 22d | 1831–1833 | Littleton W. Tazewell, Virginia.<br>John Forsyth, Georgia (2d session). |
| 23d | 1833–1835 | William Wilkins, Pennsylvania.<br>Henry Clay, Kentucky (2d session). |
| 24th | 1835–1837 | Henry Clay, Kentucky.<br>James Buchanan, Pennsylvania (2d session). |
| 25th | 1837–1839 | James Buchanan, Pennsylvania. |
| 26th | 1839–1841 | James Buchanan, Pennsylvania. |
| 27th | 1841–1843 | William C. Rives, Virginia.<br>William S. Archer, Virginia (3d session). |
| 28th | 1843–1845 | William S. Archer, Virginia. |
| 29th | 1845–1847 | William Allen, Ohio.<br>Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas (2d session). |
| 30th | 1847–1849 | Ambrose H. Sevier, Arkansas.<br>Edward A. Hannegan, Indiana (2d session and part of 1st beginning Mar. 14, 1848). |
| 31st | 1849–1851 | Thomas H. Benton, Missouri (special session).<br>William R. King, Alabama (1st session).<br>Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (2d session and part of 1st beginning July 26, 1850). |
| 32d | 1851–1853 | Henry S. Foote, Mississippi (special session).<br>James M. Mason, Virginia. |
| 33d | 1853–1855 | James M. Mason, Virginia. |
| 34th | 1855–1857 | James M. Mason, Virginia. |
| 35th | 1857–1859 | James M. Mason, Virginia. |
| 36th | 1859–1861 | James M. Mason, Virginia. |
| 37th | 1861–1863 | Charles Sumner, Massachusetts. |
| 38th | 1863–1865 | Charles Sumner, Massachusetts. |
| 39th | 1865–1867 | Charles Sumner, Massachusetts. |
| 40th | 1867–1869 | Charles Sumner, Massachusetts. |
| 41st | 1869–1871 | Charles Sumner, Massachusetts. |
| 42d | 1871–1873 | Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania. |
| 43d | 1873–1875 | Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania. |
| 44th | 1875–1877 | Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania. |
| 45th | 1877–1879 | Simon Cameron, Pennsylvania (special session). Hannibal Hamlin, Maine. |
| 46th | 1879–1881 | William W. Eaton, Connecticut. |

## APPENDIX III—Continued

## CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—Continued

| Congress | Dates | Senator |
|---|---|---|
| 47th | 1881–1883 | Ambrose E. Burnside, Rhode Island (1st special session).<br>George F. Edmunds, Vermont (2d special session).<br>William Windon, Minnesota. |
| 48th | 1883–1885 | John F. Miller, California. |
| 49th | 1885–1887 | John F. Miller, California. |
| 50th | 1887–1889 | John Sherman, Ohio. |
| 51st | 1889–1891 | John Sherman, Ohio. |
| 52d | 1891–1893 | John Sherman, Ohio. |
| 53d | 1893–1895 | John T. Morgan, Alabama. |
| 54th | 1895–1897 | John Sherman, Ohio. |
| 55th | 1897–1899 | William P. Frye, Maine (acting, special session).<br>Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota. |
| 56th | 1899–1901 | Cushman K. Davis, Minnesota. |
| 57th | 1901–1903 | William P. Frye, Maine (acting, special session).<br>Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois. |
| 58th | 1903–1905 | Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois. |
| 59th | 1905–1907 | Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois. |
| 60th | 1907–1909 | Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois. |
| 61st | 1909–1911 | Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois. |
| 62d | 1911–1913 | Shelby M. Cullom, Illinois. |
| 63d | 1913–1915 | Augustus O. Bacon, Georgia (died February 14 1914).<br>William J. Stone, Missouri (appointed Chairman March 2, 1914). |
| 64th | 1915–1917 | William J. Stone, Missouri. |
| 65th | 1917–1919 | William J. Stone, Missouri. |
| 66th | 1919–1921 | Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts. |
| 67th | 1921–1923 | Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts. |
| 68th | 1923–1925 | Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts (died Nov. 9, 1924).<br>William E. Borah, Idaho (appointed Chairman December 3, 1924). |
| 69th | 1925–1927 | William E. Borah, Idaho. |
| 70th | 1927–1929 | William E. Borah, Idaho. |
| 71st | 1929–1931 | William E. Borah, Idaho. |
| 72d | 1931–1933 | William E. Borah, Idaho. |
| 73d | 1933–1934 | Key Pittman, Nevada. |
| 74th | 1935–1936 | Key Pittman, Nevada. |
| 75th | 1937–1938 | Key Pittman, Nevada. |
| 76th | 1939–1941 | Key Pittman, Nevada (died Nov. 11, 1940).<br>Walter F. George, Georgia (appointed Chairman Nov. 25, 1940). |
| 77th | 1941–1943 | Walter F. George, Georgia (excused from chairmanship June 31, 1941).<br>Tom Connally, Texas. |
| 78th | 1943–1945 | Tom Connally, Texas. |
| 79th | 1945–1947 | Tom Connally, Texas. |
| 80th | 1947–1949 | Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan. |
| 81st | 1949–1951 | Tom Connally, Texas. |
| 82st | 1951–1953 | Tom Connally, Texas. |
| 83d | 1953–1955 | Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin. |
| 84th | 1955–1957 | Walter F. George, Georgia. |

## APPENDIX III—Continued

## CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS—Continued

| Congress | Dates | Senator |
|---|---|---|
| 85th | 1957–1959 | Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island. |
| 86th | 1959–1961 | Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island (resigned chairmansh p Feb. 6, 1959).<br>J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas (appointed Chairman Feb. 6, 1959). |
| 87th | 1961–1963 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. |
| 88th | 1963–1965 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. |
| 89th | 1965–1967 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. |
| 90th | 1967–1969 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. |
| 91st | 1969–1971 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. [1] |
| 92d | 1971–1973 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. |
| 93d | 1973–1975 | J.W. Fulbright, Arkansas. |
| 94th | 1975–1977 | John Sparkman, Alabama. |
| 95th | 1977–1979 | John Sparkman, Alabama. |
| 96th | 1979–1981 | Frank Church, Idaho. |
| 97th | 1981– | Charles H. Percy, Illinios. |

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[1] On Apr. 24, 1970, Senator J. W. Fulbright became the longest-serving Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

## APPENDIX IV

### STAFF DIRECTORS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Following the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 the committee for the first time appointed a chief of staff (the title was changed to staff director in 1979). Those who have served in this position since 1947 are as follows:

1947–1955 : Francis O. Wilcox
1955–1973 : Carl M. Marcy
1974–1977 : Pat M. Holt
1977–1979 : Norvill Jones
1979–1980 : William B. Bader; Albert A. Lakeland, Jr., Minority
1981 : Edward G. Sanders; Geryld B. Christianson, Minority

## APPENDIX V

Selected provisions of the Standing Rules of the Senate, relating to committee procedures.

### RULE XXVI

#### COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

1. Each standing committee, including any subcommittee of any such committee, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times, and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, to take such testimony and to make such expenditures (not in excess of $10,000 for each committee during any Congress) as it deems advisable. Each such committee may make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction, may report such hearings as may be had by it, and may employ stenographic assistance at a cost not exceeding the amount prescribed by the Committee on Rules and Administration.[1] The expenses of the committee shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman.

2. Each committee [2] shall adopt rules (not inconsistent with the Rules of the Senate) governing the procedure of such committee. The rules of each committee shall be published in the Congressional Record not later than March 1 of each year, except that if any such committee is established on or after February 1 of a year, the rules of that committee during the year of establishment shall be published in the Congressional Record not later than sixty days after such establishment. An amendment to the rules of any such committee shall be published in the Congressional Record not later than thirty days after the adoption of such amendment. If the Congressional Record is not published on the last day of any period referred to above, such period shall be extended until the first day thereafter on which it is published.

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[1] Pursuant to section 68c of title 2, United States Code, the Committee on Rules and Administration issues "Regulations Governing Rates Payable to Commercial Reporting Firms for Reporting Committee Hearings in the Senate." Copies of the regulations currently in effect may be obtained from the Committee.

[2] The term "each committee" when used in these rules includes standing, select, and special committees unless otherwise specified.

3. Each standing committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall fix regular weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly meetings days for the transaction of business before the committee and additional meetings may be called by the chairman as he may deem necessary. If at least three members of any such committee desire that a special meeting of the committee be called by the chairman, those members may file in the offices of the committee their written request to the chairman for that special meeting. Immediately upon the filing of the request, the clerk of the committee shall notify the chairman of the filing of the request. If, within three calendar days after the filing of the request, the chairman does not call the requested special meeting, to be held within seven calendar days after the filing of the request, a majority of the members of the committee may file in the offices of the committee their written notice that a special meeting of the committee will be held, specifying the date and hour of that special meeting. The committee shall meet on that date and hour. Immediately upon the filing of the notice the clerk of the committee shall notify all members of the committee that such special meeting will be held and inform them of its date and hour. If the chairman of any such committee is not present at any regular, additional, or special meeting of the committee, the ranking member of the majority party on the committee who is present shall preside at that meeting.

4. (a) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on the Budget) shall make public announcement of the date, place, and subject matter of any hearing to be conducted by the committee on any measure or matter at least one week before the commencement of that hearing unless the committee determines that there is good cause to begin such hearing at an earlier date.

(b) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall require each witness who is to appear before the committee in any hearing to file with the clerk of the committee, at least one day before the date of the appearance of that witness, a written statement of his proposed testimony unless the committee chairman and the ranking minority member determine that there is good cause for noncompliance. If so requested by any committee, the staff of the committee shall prepare for the use of the members of the committee before each day of hearing before the committee a digest of the statement which have been so filed by witnesses who are to appear before the committee on that day.

(c) After the conclusion of each day of hearing, if so requested by any committee, the staff shall prepare for the use of the members of the committee a summary of the testimony given before the committee on that day. After approval by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee, each such summary may be printed as a part of the committee hearings if such hearings are ordered by the committee to be printed.

(d) Whenever any hearing is conducted by a committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) upon any measure or matter, the minority on the committee shall be entitled, upon request made by a majority of the minority members to the chairman before the completion of such hearing to call witnesses selected by the minority to testify with respect to the measure or matter during at least one day of hearing thereon.

5. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of the rules, when the Senate is in session, no committee of the Senate or any subcommittee thereof may meet, without special leave, after the conclusion of the first two hours after the meeting of the Senate commenced and in no case after two o'clock postmeridian unless consent therefor has been obtained from the majority leader and the minority leader (or in the event of the absence of either of such leaders, from his designee). The prohibition contained in the preceding sentence shall not apply to the Committee on Appropriations or the Committee on the Budget. The majority leader or his designee shall announce to the Senate whenever consent has been given under this subparagraph and shall state the time and place of such meeting. The right to make such announcement of consent shall have the same priority as the filing of a cloture motion.

(b) Each meeting of a committee, or any subcommittee thereof, including meetings to conduct hearings, shall be open to the public, except that a meeting or series of meetings by a committee or a subcommittee thereof on the same subject for a period of no more than fourteen calendar days may be closed to the public on a motion made and seconded to go into closed session to discuss only whether the matters enumerated in clauses (1) through (6) would require the meeting to be closed, followed immediately by a record vote in open session by a majority of the

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members of the committee or subcommittee when it is determined that the matters to be discussed or the testimony to be taken at such meeting or meetings—

(1) will disclose matters necessary to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or the confidential conduct of the foreign relations of the United States;

(2) will relate solely to matters of committee staff personnel or internal staff management or procedure;

(3) will tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy or will represent a clearly unwarranted invasion of the privacy of an individual;

(4) will disclose the identity of any informer or law enforcement agent or will disclose any information relating to the investigation or prosecution of a criminal offense that is required to be kept secret in the interests of effective law enforcement;

(5) will disclose information relating to the trade secrets of financial or commercial information pertaining specifically to a given person if—

(A) an Act of Congress requires the information to be kept confidential by Government officers and employees; or

(B) the information has been obtained by the Government on a confidential basis, other than through an application by such person for a specific Government financial or other benefit, and is required to be kept secret in order to prevent undue injury to the competitive position of such person; or

(6) may divulge matters required to be kept confidential under other provisions of law or Government regulations.

(c) Whenever any hearing conducted by any such committee or subcommittee is open to the public, that hearing may be broadcast by radio or television, or both, under such rules as the committee or subcommittee may adopt.

(d) Whenever disorder arises during a committee meeting that is open to the public, or any demonstration of approval or disapproval is indulged in by any person in attendance at any such meeting, it shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce order on his own initiative and without any point of order being made by a Senator. When the Chair finds it necessary to maintain order, he shall have the power to clear the room, and the committee may act in closed session for so long as there is doubt of the assurance of order.

(e) Each committee shall prepare and keep a complete transcript or electronic recording adequate to fully record the proceeding of each meeting or conference whether or not such meeting or any part thereof is closed under this paragraph, unless a majority of its members vote to forgo such a record.

6. Morning meetings of committees and subcommittees thereof shall be scheduled for one or both of the periods prescribed in this paragraph. The first period shall end at eleven o'clock antemeridian. The second period shall begin at eleven o'clock antemeridian and end at two o'clock post meridian.

7. (a) (1) Except as provided in this paragraph, each committee, and each subcommittee thereof is authorized to fix the number of its members (but not less than one-third of its entire membership) who shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of such business as may be considered by said committee, except that no measure or matter or recommendation shall be reported from any committee unless a majority of the committee were physically present.

(2) Each such committee, or subcommittee, is authorized to fix a lesser number than one-third of its entire membership who shall constitute a quorum thereof for the purpose of taking sworn testimony.

(3) The vote of any committee to report a measure or matter shall require the concurrence of a majority of the members of the committee who are present. No vote of any member of any committee to report a measure or matter may be cast by proxy if rules adopted by such committee forbid the casting of votes for that purpose by proxy; however, proxies may not be voted when the absent committee member has not been informed of the matter on which he is being recorded and has not affirmatively requested that he be so recorded. Action by any committee in reporting any measure or matter in accordance with the requirements of this subparagraph shall constitute the ratification by the committee of all action theretofore taken by the committee with respect to that measure or matter, including votes taken upon the measure or matter or any amendment thereto, and no point of order shall lie with respect to that measure or

matter on the ground that such previous action with respect thereto by such committee was not taken in compliance with such requirements.

(b) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall keep a complete record of all committee action. Such record shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded. The results of rollcall votes taken in any meeting of any committee upon any measure, or any amendment thereto, shall be announced in the committee report on that measure unless previously announced by the committee, and such announcement shall include a tabulation of the votes cast in favor of and the votes cast in opposition to each such measure and amendment by each member of the committee who was present at that meeting.

(c) Whenever any committee by rollcall vote reports any measure or matter, the report of the committee upon such measure or matter shall include a tabulation of the votes cast by each member of the committee in favor of and in opposition to such measure or matter. Nothing contained in this subparagraph shall abrogate the power of any committee to adopt rules—

(1) providing for proxy voting on all matters other than the reporting of a measure or matter, or

(2) providing in accordance with subparagraph (a) for a lesser number as a quorum for any action other than the reporting of a measure or matter.

8. (a) In order to assist the Senate in—

(1) its analysis, appraisal, and evaluation of the application, administration, and execution of the laws enacted by the Congress, and

(2) its formulation, consideration, and enactment of such modifications of or changes in those laws, and of such additional legislation, as may be necessary or appropriate,

each standing committee (except the Committees on Appropriations and the Budget), shall review and study, on a continuing basis the application, administration, and execution of those laws, or parts of laws, the subject matter of which is within the legislative jurisdiction of that committee. Such committees may carry out the required analysis, appraisal, and evaluation themselves, or by contract, or may require a Government agency to do so and furnish a report thereon to the Senate. Such committees may rely on such techniques as pilot testing, analysis of costs in comparison with benefits, or provision for evaluation after a defined period of time.

(b) In each odd-numbered year, each such committee shall submit, not later than March 31, to the Senate, a report on the activities of that committee under this paragraph during the Congress ending at noon on January 3 of such year.

9. Each committee which requires authorization for the expenditure of funds in excess of the amount specified in paragraph 1 of this rule shall offer one annual authorization resolution to procure such authorization. Each such annual authorization resolution shall include a specification of the amount of all such funds sought by such committee. The annual authorization resolution of any committee shall be offered not later than January 31 of that year, except that, whenever the designation of members of committees occurs during the first session of any Congress at a date later than January 20, such resolution may be offered at any time within thirty days after the date on which the members of such committees are designated. After the date on which an annual authorization resolution has been offered by any committee in any year, such committee in that year may procure authorization for additioanl expenditures only by offering a supplemental authorization resolution. Each such supplemental authorization resolution shall include a specification of the amount of all supplemental funds sought by that committee. Each such supplemental authorization resolution shall amend the annual authorization resolution of such committee for that year unless the committee offered no annual authorization resolution for that year, in which case the committee's supplemental authorization resolution shall not be an amendment to any other resolution and any subsequent supplemental authorization resolution of such committee for the same year shall amend the first such resolution offered by the committee for that year. Each such supplemental resolution reported by such committee shall be accompanied by a report to the Senate specifying with particularity the purpose for which such authorization is sought and the reason why such authorization could not have been sought at the time of, or within the period provided for, the submission by such committee on an annual authorization resolution for that year. This paragraph shall not apply to any resolution requesting funds in addition

to the amount specified in paragraph 1 of this rule and which are to be expended only for the same purposes for which such amount may be expended. This subparagraph does not apply to the Committee on Appropriations.

10. (a) All committee hearings, records, data, charts, and files shall be kept separate and distinct from the congressional office records of the Member serving as chairman of the committee; and such records shall be the property of the Senate and all members of the committee and the Senate shall have access to such records. Each committee is authorized to have printed and bound such testimony and other data presented at hearings held by the committee.

(b) It shall be the duty of the chairman of each committee to report or cause to be reported promptly to the Senate any measure approved by his committee and to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to bring the matter to a vote. In any event, the report of any committee upon a measure which has been approved by the committee shall be filed within seven calendar days (exclusive of days on which the Senate is not in session) after the day on which there has been filed with the clerk of the committee a written and signed request of a majority of the committee for the reporting of that measure. Upon the filing of any such request, the clerk of the committee shall transmit immediately to the chairman of the committee notice of the filing of that request. This subparagraph does not apply to the Committee on Appropriations.

(c) If at the time of approval of a measure or matter by any committee (except for the Committee on Appropriations), any member of the committee gives notice of intention to file supplemental, minority, or additional views, that member shall be entitled to not less than three calendar days in which to file such views, in writing, with the clerk of the committee. All such views so filed by one or more members of the committee shall be included within, and shall be a part of, the report filed by the committee with respect to that measure or matter. The report of the committee upon that measure or matter shall be printed in a single volume which—

(1) shall include all supplemental, minority, or additional views which have been submitted by the time of the filing of the report, and

(2) shall bear upon its cover a recital that supplemental, minority, or additional views are included as part of the report.

This subparagraph does not preclude—

(A) the immediate filing and printing of a committee report unless timely request for the opportunity to file supplemental, minority, or additional views has been made as provided by this subparagraph; or

(B) the filing by any such committee of any supplemental report upon any measure or matter which may be required for the correction of any technical error in a previous report made by that committee upon that measure or matter.

11. (a) The report accompanying each bill or joint resolution of a public character reported by any committee (except the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on the Budget) shall contain—

(1) an estimate, made by such committee, of the costs which would be incurred in carrying out such bill or joint resolution in the fiscal year in which it is reported and in each of the five fiscal years following such fiscal year (or for the authorized duration of any program authorized by such bill or joint resolution, if less than five years), except that, in the case of measures affecting the revenues, such reports shall require only an estimate of the gain or loss in revenues for a one-year period; and

(2) a comparison of the estimate of costs described in subparagraph (1) made by such committee with any estimate of costs made by any Federal agency; or

(3) in lieu of such estimate or comparison, or both, a statement of the reasons why compliance by the committee with the requirements of subparagraph (1) or (2), or both, is impracticable.

(b) each such report (except those by the Committee on Appropriations) shall also contain—

(1) an evaluation, made by such committee, of the regulatory impact which would be incurred in carrying out the bill or joint resolution. The evaluation shall include (A) an estimate of the numbers of individuals and businesses who would be regulated and a determination of the groups and classes of such individuals and businesses, (B) a determination of the economic impact of such regulation on the individuals, consumers, and businesses affected, (C)

a determination of the impact on the personal privacy of the individuals affected, and (D) a determination of the amount of additional paperwork that will result from the regulations to be promulgated pursuant to the bill or joint resolution, which determination may include, but need not be limited to, estimate of the amount of time and financial costs required of affected parties, showing whether the effects of the bill or joint resolution could be substantial, as well as reasonable estimates of the recordkeeping requirements that may be associated with the bill or joint resolution;

(2) in lieu of such evaluation, a statement of the reasons why compliance by the committee with the requirements of clause (1) is impracticable.

(c) It shall not be in order for the Senate to consider any such bill or joint resolution if the report of the committee on such bill or joint resolution does not comply with the provisions of subparagraphs (a) and (b) on the objection of any Senator.

12. Whenever a committee reports a bill or a joint resolution repealing or amending any statute or part thereof it shall make a report thereon and shall include in such report or in an accompanying document (to be prepared by the staff of such committee) (a) the text of the statute or part thereof which is proposed to be repealed; and (b) a comparative print of that part of the bill or joint resolution making the amendment and of the statute or part thereof proposed to be amended, showing by stricken-through type and italics, parallel columns, or other appropriate typographical devices the omissions and insertions which would be made by the bill or joint resolution if enacted in the form recommended by the committee. This paragraph shall not apply to any such report in which it is stated that, in the opinion of the committee, it is necessary to dispense with the requirements of this subsection to expedite the business of the Senate.

13. (a) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) which has legislative jurisdiction shall, in its consideration of all bills and joint resolutions of a public character within its jurisdiction, endeavor to insure that—

(1) all continuing programs of the Federal Government and of the government of the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of such committee or joint committee, are designed; and

(2) all continuing activities of Federal agencies, within the jurisdiction of such committee or joint committee, are carried on;

so that, to the extent consistent with the nature, requirements, and objectives of those programs and activities, appropriations therefor will be made annually.

(b) Each committee (except the Committee on Appropriations) shall with respect to any continuing program within its jurisdiction for which appropriations are not made annually, review such program, from time to time, in order to ascertain whether such program could be modified so that appropriations therefor would be made annually.

# APPENDIX VI

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